000 Kinship System and Social Structure of the Bororo of Pobojari

by

Zarko D. Levak

A Dissertation
Presented to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Yale University in
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Doctor of Philosophy

1971

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Pobojari

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000 In the course of study and travel one accumulates many debts and many friends. I am grateful to these friends not only for their help but also because of the sense of responsibility I feel in trying to justify their trust. I give my thanks first to my adviser, Professor Floyd G. Lounsbury, whose influence will be quite obvious in the following pages. Equally important was a clear sense of direction and grasp of the meaning of ethnographic research, which I owe to Professor Harold Conklin. I am grateful to Professors Sidney Mintz and Leopold Pospisil for their friendship and encouragement, and to Professor Harold Scheffler for many useful comments made on the first draft of this thesis.

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Finally, my thanks to Milena, who made two years of hardship at the same time years of happiness. Every idea in this thesis has been discussed with her, and at times I cannot distinguish which one is hers and which is mine.

The Bororo of Pobojari endured our intrusion and in time came to tolerate our peculiar ways. It seems strange to express my thanks to them for this work. They are the authors of this thesis; I was just a tool through which they expressed their culture.

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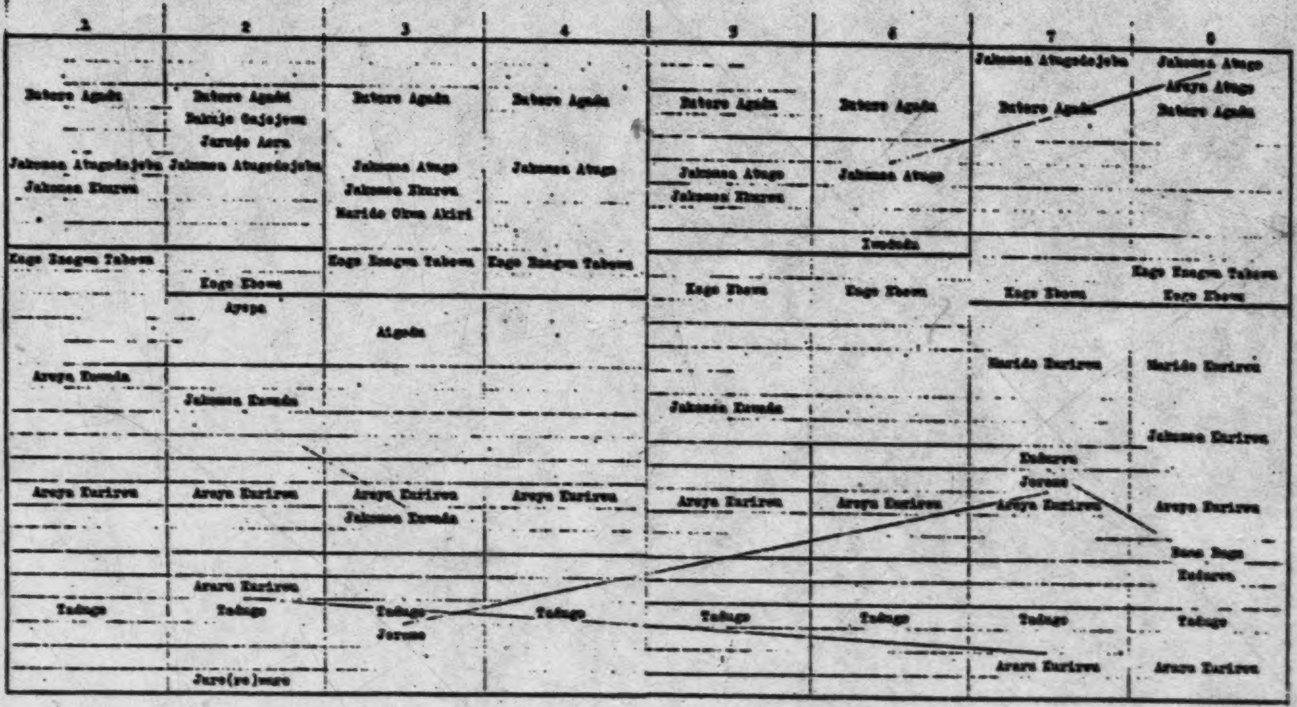
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Jakomea Atugodajeba
Jakomea Atugo
Arayo Atugo
Batore Agada
Bakajo Gajejera
Jarudo Aera
Batore Agada
Batore Agada
Batore Agada
Batore Agada
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Batore Agada
Jakomea Atugodajeba
Jakomea Atugodajeba
Jakomea Atugo
Jakomea Atugo
Jakomea Atugo
Jakomea Atugo
Jakomea Ekurea
Jakomea Ekurea
Jakomea Ekurea
Marido Okwa Akiri
Iwododa
Kogo Kuagwa Taboea
Kogo Kuagwa Taboea
Kogo Kuagwa Taboea
Kogo Kuagwa Taboea
Kogo Ekowa
Kogo Ekowa
Kogo Ekowa
Kogo Ekowa
Kogo Ekowa
Ayepa
Aigeda
Areya Eruda
Jakomea Eruda
Jakomea Eruda
Marido Kurirea
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Jakomea Kurirea
Kudurea
Jorome
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Bace Bage
Kudurea
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Tadugo
Tadugo
Tadugo
Jorome
Arare Kurirea
Arare Kurirea
Juro(re)mare

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INTRODUCTION

131 178 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso, Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north [161] to Cuiabà, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the [657] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is entrusted [797] to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the [177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and [22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around [513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's [512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

008 and ornaments or just chatting.

361 The village layout is a reflection of the Bororo social structure. The Bororo point around the village circle with their fingers to show the place of important social groups. It is not necessary that these social groups actually be present in a village; the ideal village plan is in Bororo minds.

The villages are always situated near rivers. In the part of Mato Grosso where the Bororo live, rivers flow from east to west, and the villages are oriented so that the east-
61 west axis divides them into two halves. The Echerae moiety occupies the southern half, the Tugarege moiety occupies the northern. Each moiety consists of four clans, each clan of two subclans, and each subclan of many lineages. A lineage consists of people who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor and carry the same family name, which is the ancestor's personal name. A clan is an aggregate of lineages said by the Bororo to be related as matrilineal descendants of
[553] brothers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son) and thus established a new lineage. Clans and subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools, animals, and plants. Though the moiety is not supposed to originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among lineages within the moiety are treated as if their common ancestors had been broth-
621 ers. In a village it is desirable for the important lineages
61 to be represented so that the village can properly carry out

621 its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should
61 have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan
is too large, additional houses can be built.

582 Preferential marriage between particular lineages is
616 supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the
[539] two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety.
Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on.
Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups.
Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established
by other means in the mythical past.

796 All important events in a person's life, such as naming,
533 initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies.
[764] The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long
[424] and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to
[196] a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by
many contemporary Bororo.

178 Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting
[222] and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished
[224] environment and have been almost completely given up.
[796] Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material,
[531] ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The
[136] colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the
181 forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They
[175] are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over
western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by
their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the
number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the
Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number
of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies,
especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say,
bury their dead as they bury their dogs--under earth without
any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 788 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.

552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under
the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
[121] missions. The choice of the village was determined by the
fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village,
and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My
wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we
lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until
June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to
August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important
Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

101 Only an old knowledgeable Bororo chief and his wife are still
living there, and we moved there to work with them.

114 The village of Pobojari was built in the traditional
circular shape, with the men's house in the center and nine
162 houses around it. In one year of residence there we counted
a total of 99 people in the village (of whom 13 were children)
163 with roughly 50 people there at any one time. Eight people
165 died, and there was one birth. The majority of the adult
733 population were alcoholics and suffered from various kinds
164 of respiratory diseases. We were able to gather considerable
data watching funeral ceremonies, but after the first few
deaths these ceremonies became an obstacle to our work because
our informants were involved so much of the time performing
ceremonial duties. As a result the situation in the village
was quite depressing and the working conditions were at times
difficult. The days were often spent waiting for an inform-
114 ant to sober up. The situation sharply contrasted with re-
178 ports of previous researchers which depicted the Bororo as a
happy and easygoing people always ready to laugh. But the
224 economic conditions had changed. Game was practically non-
226 existent, and great time and effort were required to catch
167 fish in waters that had become muddy as a result of agricul-
tural changes introduced by the Brazilian settlers.

114 The land surrounding our village had already been allot-
167 ted to Brazilian farmers, and only our presence there kept
177 the settlers from forcing the Bororo to move away. "Ameri-
cans" are considered powerful people, and besides everybody

114 knew that soon we would have to leave. The Bororo begged for
167 food on the surrounding farms, and when drunk they would talk
177 about the land that had been stolen from them. Everyone was
[821] afraid that when he died there would not be enough Bororo
114 left to properly carry out the funeral ceremonies. In our
year of residence there only three times did we hear loud
laughter resounding through the village; we still remember it.

121 I did not go among the Bororo for the purpose of studying their kinship system and social organization. In my grant proposal to the National Science Foundation, I wrote that I intended to study Bororo mythology and religious ideas. The extensive work done by the Salesian missionaries and Lévi-Strauss seemed to justify my belief that the Bororo social structure had been well researched and did not need yet another interpretation. However, I did want to make a semantic analysis of their kinship system. Being Lounsbury's student, I wanted to meet Lévi-Strauss' challenge,

> The fact that his [Lounsbury's] analytical procedure could have resulted in a thorough reinterpretation of a system, such as that of the Iroquois, we believed we knew so well, should contribute new insights that may help us to understand similarly difficult systems from other parts of the world. I instance that of the South American Bororo which raises problems of a similar nature. (Levi-Strauss 1965:13-14)

I thought that this challenge could be met somehow in my leisure time while I concentrated on learning the language and recording and analyzing Bororo myths.

121 Things went differently, however. I did start my field
114 work by recording myths and observing ceremonies, but soon I

121 realized that I would not be able to grasp fully the meanings 114 of the myths and ceremonies unless I understood the kinship [538] system and social organization. Most of the myths dealt with [829] ancestors whose relationships and behavior were given as justification for relationships among the living. Pronouncements about social groups seemed full of contradictions. Often, when discussing two protagonists of a myth, an informant would say that they were two different people, and the same person at the same time. The living and the dead seemed to be confused with each other. Mother and children often blended together. Objects would suddenly get a new color designation when they became paraphernalia for ceremonies. All these puzzles invariably led to kinship terminology, by which the Bororo seemed to explain everything. Thus, instead of analyzing mythology and religion, I had to start to study the Bororo kinship system and social organization. The findings are summarized in this dissertation and will hopefully serve as a starting point for further publications. In this sense I regard the work as a necessary prolegomena to the study of the Bororo.

128 The first part of this dissertation deals with kinship terminology, with the arguments favoring a "genealogical" rather than a "categorical" approach, and with a semantic analysis of the referential system.

The concepts developed in the first part are essential for understanding the relevant features of the social structure. The second part deals with the relationships between

128 mother and child, older brother and younger brother, and father and son, which are seen as the models for three kinds of relationships which pervade Bororo culture. The opposition between culture and nature provides yet another model used by the Bororo to order their universe. Finally, the three kinship-based relationships and the culture-nature opposition provide a basis for examining the processes of adaptation of Bororo society as a whole to newly arising circumstances and demographic changes, and for studying a single individual as he passes through different stages of his life.

Chapter II

THE VOCABULARY OF KINSHIP

*601 In its usage Bororo kinship terminology is seemingly complex, though in its essential conception it is quite [538] simple. Referential uses of kinship terms are found in myths and stories, as well as in daily life when a person speaks about his kinsmen. Vocative uses constitute another slightly different system, much used in personal interactions. By extragenealogical social extensions, when desired, the terms (in both of these usages) may include any [846] person within the tribe. Changes in the referential and [553] vocative terminology between two concerned persons occur [304] following the cutting of the umbilical cord, the imposition of a name, the piercing of one's ear lobes, and the pierc- [768] ing of a man's nasal septum. The changes occurring on the occasion of death affect several people, usually a large part of the village. Some adjectives can be added to the terms, or these can be left without adjectives; in either case different nuances of meaning can be conveyed to the addressee or to the listener. When the need for more precision arises, the Bororo specify the kin type, for example: "my mother's older brother's daughter" (imuga umana onaregedu aredu), "my father's younger sister's child"

X601 (iyogwa uviye aredu onaregedu), etc. Finally a completely different set of terms is used in lamentations (see page 68).

For the benefit of the reader, I will try to gradually introduce these complexities. This means that statements made in the course of the analysis, while correct in the context at hand may be subject to further specifications or may be put into a different perspective in subsequent pages.

Notational Conventions

Abbrevuatuibs ti be ysed areL

F	father, or father's ...
M	mother, or mother's ...
B	brother, or brother's ...
S	sister, or sister's ...
H	husband, or husband's ...
W	wife, or wife's ...
s	son, or son's ...
d	daughter, or daughter's ...
c	child, or child's ...
P	parent, or parent's ...
Sp	spouse, or spouse's ...
♂	a man's ... (male Ego's ...)
♀	a woman's ... (female Ego's ...)
no sex prefix	one's ... (male or female Ego's ...)

Note that there is one exception to the last abbreviation. The symbols H and W imply, in themselves, an appropriate prefix for sex of Ego. Consequently ♂W and ♀H will be always written simply as W and H without a sex prefix.

*601 Terms and their Ranges of Reference

Following are the Bororo assignments of their kinship terms to genealogically reckoned kin types. The terms are given in their first person singular forms.[1]

1. Iyedaga:
   - father's father (FF)
   - mother's father (MF)
   - father's father's brother (FFB)
   - mother's father's brother (MFB)
   - mother's mother's husband (MMH)
   - father's sister's husband (FSH)
   - wife's father (WF)
   - wife's older sister's husband (WSH)
   - husband's father (HF)
   - husband's brother (HB)
   - husband's mother's brother (HMB)
   - husband's sister's son (HSs)
   - husband's mother's sister's son (HMSs)
   - Also, as an alternative classification in certain appropriate circumstances (see page 41), the following:

---

[1] Three of the Bororo kin terms change their roots when inflected:

1st person singular: iyogwa, imuga, imarugo
3rd " " : uwo , uche , ucharugo

The other kin terms change only the pronominal prefix and in some cases the voicing of a stop consonant, for example:

1st person singular: iyedaga, inodowu, imana, etc.
3rd " " : uyedaga, otowu , umana, etc.

*601

mother's mother's brother (MMB)
mother's brother (MB)

2. Imarugo:
   - father's mother (FM)
   - mother's mother (MM)
   - father's mother's sister (FMS)
   - mother's father's sister (MFS)
   - father's father's sister (FFS)
   - father's sister (FS)
   - father's sister's daughter (FSd)
   - father's sister's daughter's daughter (FSdd)
   - wife's mother (WM)
   - wife's mother's sister (WMS)
   - wife's older sister (WS)
   - wife's sister's daughter (WSd) where WSd is older than W
   - wife's mother's sister's daughter (WMSd), where WMSd is older than W
   - husband's mother (HM)
   - husband's mother's sister (HMS)
   - husband's mother's sister's daughter (HMSd)
   - husband's sister (HS)
   - husband's sister's daughter (HSd)
3. Iyogwa:
   - father (F)
   - father's brother (FB)
   - father's mother's brother (FMB)

*601

father's sister's son (FSs)

father's sister's daughter's son (FSds)

mother's husband (MH), alternatively inodowu

4. inodowu:

mother's husband (MH), alternatively iyogwa

mother's sister's husband (MSH)

man's sister's husband (♂SH)

man's mother's sister's daughter's husband (♂MSdH)

man's sister's daughter's husband (♂SdH)

woman's older sister's husband (♀SH)

woman's mother's sister's daughter's husband (♀MSdH), where MSd is older than Ego

5. imuga:

mother (M)

6. imana:

in all the following cases Ego is male and the designated kinsmen are older than Ego.

brother (B)

mother's brother (MB)

mother's mother's brother (MMB)

father's brother's son (FBs)

mother's sister's son (MSs)

sister's son (Ss)

father's son (Fs)

mother's son (Ms)

*601 7. Ivuri:

In all the following cases Ego is female and the designated kinsmen are older than Ego.

brother (B)

mother's brother (MB)

mother's mother's brother (MMB)

father's brother's son (FBs)

mother's sister's son (MSs)

sister's son (Ss)

father's son (Fs)

mother's son (Ms)

8. Ituye:

In all the following cases the designated kinsmen are older than Ego.

sister (S)

mother's sister (MS)

mother's mother's sister (MMS)

mother's sister's daughter (MSd)

father's brother's daughter (FBd)

sister's daughter (Sd)

father's daughter (Fd)

mother's daughter (Md)

9. Iviye:

In all the following cases the designated kinsmen are younger than Ego.

brother (B)

sister (S)

*601

mother's brother (MB)
father's brother's son (FBs)
mother's sister's son (MSs)
mother's sister's daughter (MSd)
sister's son (Ss)
sister's daughter (Sd)
sister's daughter's son (Sds)
sister's daughter's daughter (Sdd)
father's son (Fs)
father's daughter (Fd)
mother's son (Ms)
mother's daughter (Md)

10. Itonaregedu:

son (s)
daughter (d)
man's brother's son (♂Bs)
man's brother's daughter (♂Bd)
man's mother's brother's son (♂MBs)
man's mother's brother's daughter (♂MBd)
man's mother's mother's brother's son (♂MMBs)
man's mother's mother's brother's daughter (♂MMBd)
man's sister's son's son (♂Sss)
man's sister's son's daughter (♂Ssd)
wife's son (Ws)
wife's daughter (Wd)
wife's brother (WB)
wife's mother's brother (WMB)

*601 wife's mother's sister's son (WMSs)

wife's mother's sister's daughter (WMSd), where WMSd is younger than W

wife's younger sister (WS)

wife's sister's son (WSs)

wife's sister's daughter (WSd)

11. Ivagedu:

son's son (ss)

daughter's son (ds)

brother's son's son (Bss)

brother's daughter's son (Bds)

woman's brother's son (♀Bs)

woman's mother's brother's son (♀MBs)

woman's mother's mother's brother's son (♀MMBs)

woman's sister's son's son (♀Sss)

daughter's husband (dH)

woman's younger sister's husband (♀SH)

woman's mother's sister's husband (♀MSH) where MS is younger than Ego

woman's mother's sister's daughter's husband (♀MSdH), where MSd is younger than Ego

woman's sister's daughter's husband (♀SdH)

wife's brother's son (WBs)

wife's younger sister's husband (WSH)

wife's daughter's son (Wds)

Also, as an alternative classification in certain appropriate circumstances (see page 41), the

*601

following:

man's sister's son (♂Ss)

man's sister's daughter's son (♂Sds)

12. Irago:

son's daughter (sd)

daughter's daughter (dd)

brother's son's daughter (Bsd)

brother's daughter's daughter (Bdd)

woman's brother's daughter (♀Bd)

woman's mother's brother's daughter (♀MBd)

woman's mother's mother's brother's daughter (♀MMBd)

woman's sister's son's daughter (♀Ssd)

son's wife (sW)

BROTHER"S WIFE (BW)

sister's son's wife (SsW)

mother's sister's son's wife (MSsW)

wife's brother's daughter (WBd)

wife's daughter's daughter (Wdd)

Also, as an alternative classification in certain appropriate circumstances (see page 41), the following:

man's sister's daughter (♂Sd)

man's sister's daughter's daughter (♂Sdd)

*601 13. Itoredu:[1]
husband (H)

14. Itoreduje:[2]
wife (W)

Nonrelatives:

father's wife (FW)
father's brother's wife (FBW)
husband's son (Hs)
husband's daughter (Hd)
husband's brother's son (HBs)
husband's brother's daughter (HBd)

The set of diagrams on Tables I, II, and III present the data on kinship vocabulary and the reference of the terms.

The representation of the structure formed by the data on reference is illustrated on Tables IV (diagram of Male Ego's uterine kin), V (diagram of Female Ego's uterine kin), and VI (father's uterine kin.)

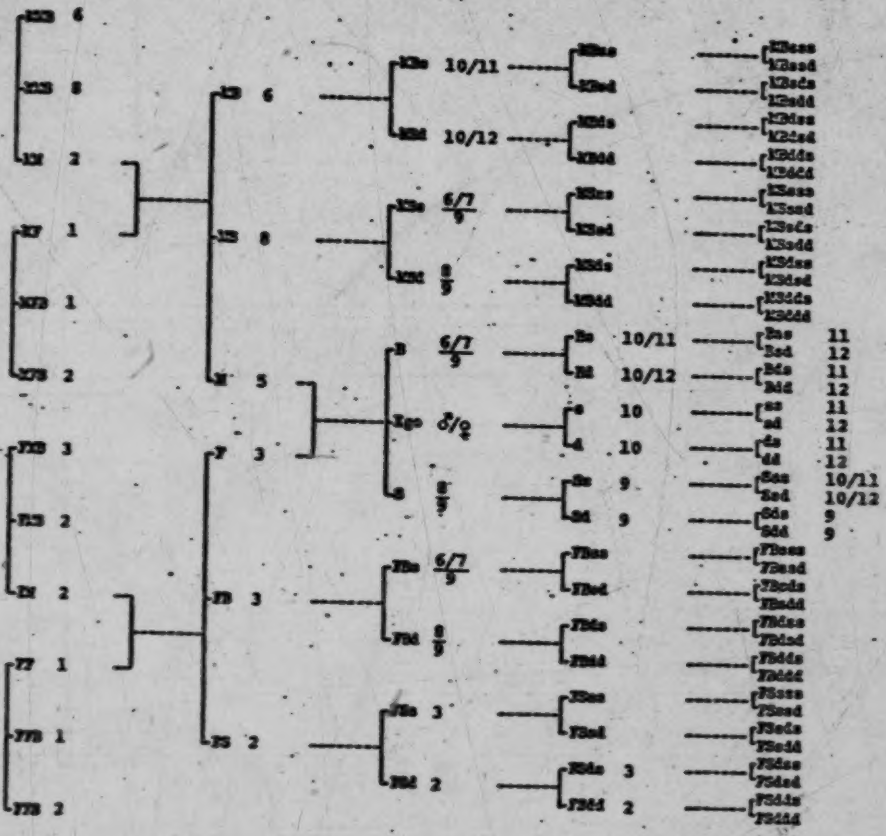
---

[1] Plural of itoredu is ikoge.

[2] Plural of itoreduje is ivire.

x
601

Table I


10/11
10/12
6/7
B
Ego
S
♂/♀
s
d
10/11
10/12
Bs
Bd
ss
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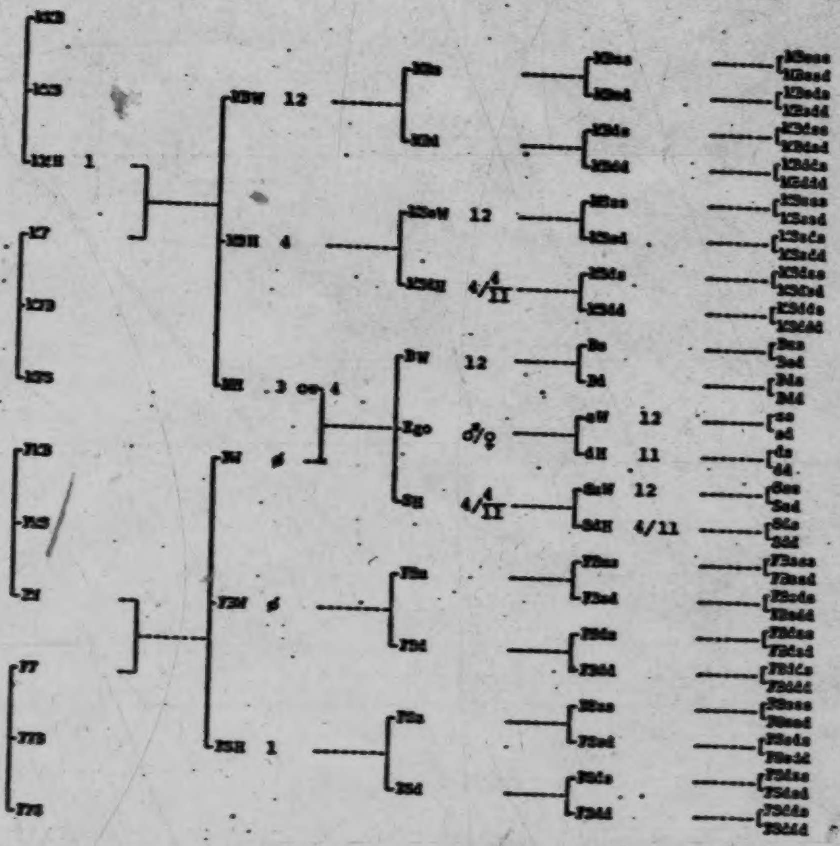
ds
dd
10/11
10/12

*601

Table II


12
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12
3 or 4
Ego
♂/♀
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Table III

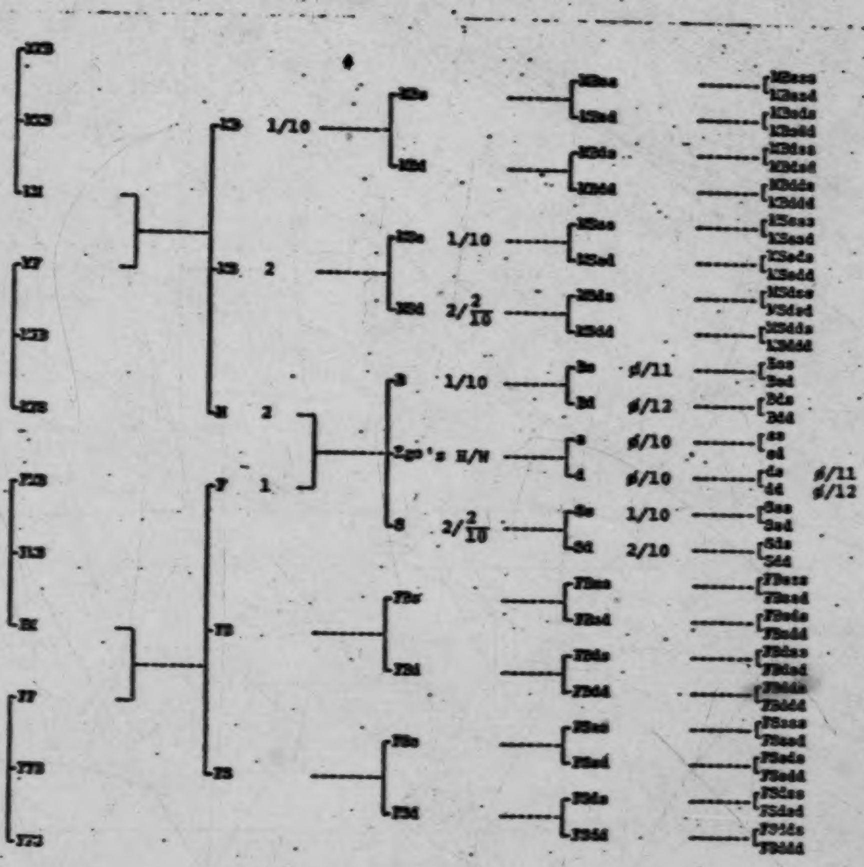
MB
1/10
MZ
2
M
2
F
1
FB
FZ
MBs
MBd
MZs 1/10
MZd 2/$\frac{2}{10}$
B 1/10
Ego's H/W
Z 2/$\frac{2}{10}$
FBs
FBd
FZs
FZd
MBss
MBsd
MBds
MBdd
MZss
MZsd
MZds
MZdd
Bs 0/11
Bd 0/12
s 0/10
d 0/10
Zs 1/10
Zd 2/10
ss
sd
ds 0/11
dd 0/12
Bss
Bsd
Bds
Bdd
Zss
Zsd
Zds
Zdd
FBss
FBsd
FBds
FBdd
FZss
FZsd
FZds
FZdd

Table IV

*601
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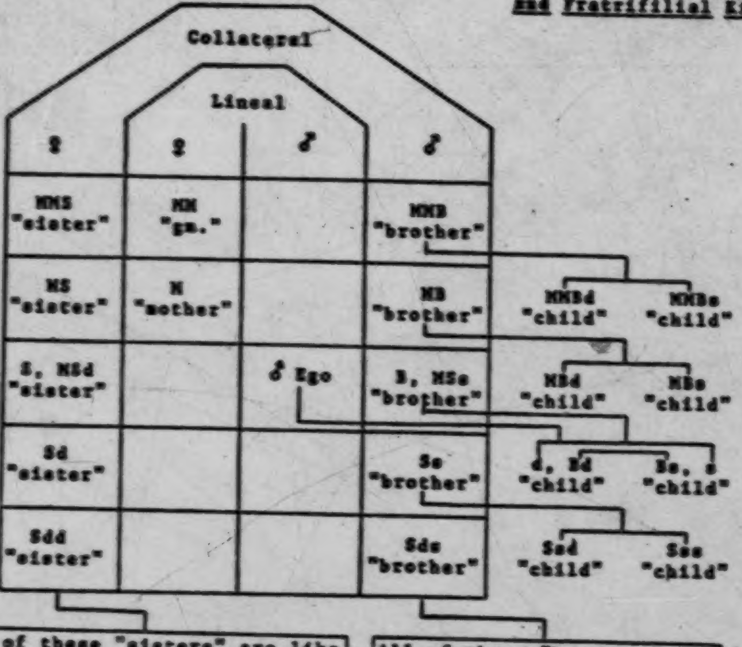
Male Ego's Uterine Kin:

Male Ego's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:


Collateral
Lineal
♀
♀
♂
♂
MMS "sister"
MM "gm."
MMB "brother"
MS "sister"
M "mother"
MB "brother"
S, MSd "sister"
♂ Ego
B, MSs "brother"
Sd "sister"
Ss "brother"
Sdd "sister"
Sds "brother"
MMBd "child"
MMBs "child"
MBd "child"
MBs "child"
d, Bd "child"
Bs, s "child"
Ssd "child"
Sss "child"

All of these "sisters" are like mothers when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are his "brothers" and "sisters". [This covert equivalence is common to Crow-type systems, in relation to male Ego, except that it does not normally apply to MS and MMS, who are normally "mother" and "grandmother" rather than "sister", because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule)]

All of these "brothers" are like Alter Egos to male Ego when he reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are also his "children", and he is a "father" to them. [This is a usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types II and IV.]

K601
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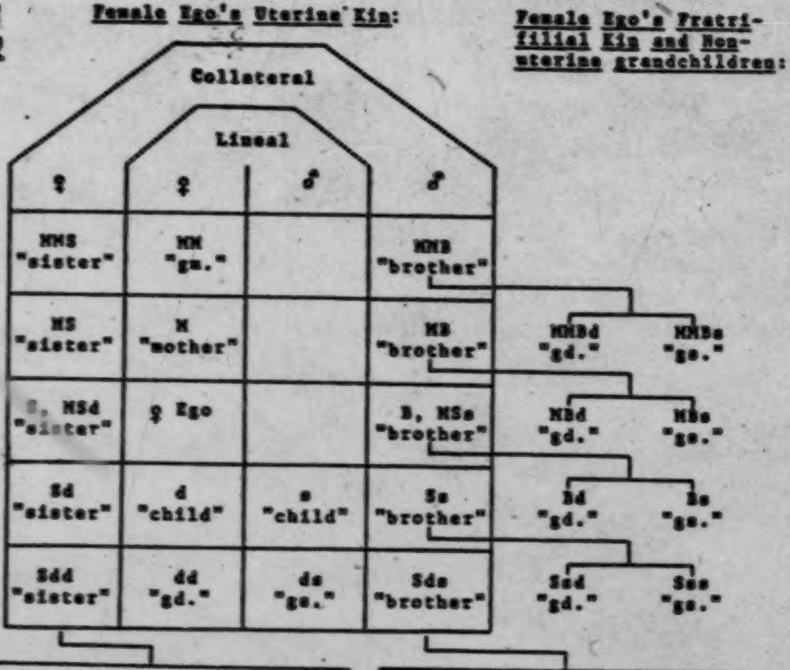
Table V

Female Ego's Uterine Kin:

Female Ego's Fratrifilial Kin and Non-uterine grandchildren:



Collateral	Lineal		Collateral		
♀	♀	♂	♂		
MMS "sister"	MM "gm."		MMB "brother"		
MS "sister"	M "mother"		MB "brother"	MMBd "gd."	MMBs "gs."
S, MSd "sister"	♀ Ego		B, MSs "brother"	MBd "gd."	MBs "gs."
Sd "sister"	d "child"	s "child"	Ss "brother"	Bd "gd."	Bs "gs."
Sdd "sister"	dd "gd."	ds "gs."	Sds "brother"	Ssd "gd."	Sss "gs."

All of these "sisters" are like mothers, even to female Ego, when Ego reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "brothers" and "sisters". [This equivalence is a rarity in Crow-type systems in relation to female Ego, because the equivalence of parallel siblings (the merging rule) usually takes priority over the equivalence of sister to mother (the skewing rule). The Bororo system reverses the priorities.]

All of these "brothers" are like sons to female Ego when she reckons to their children; for the children of all of them are her "grandchildren", and she is a "grandmother" to them. [This is the usual equivalence in Crow-type systems of types III and IV.]

Table VI

*601
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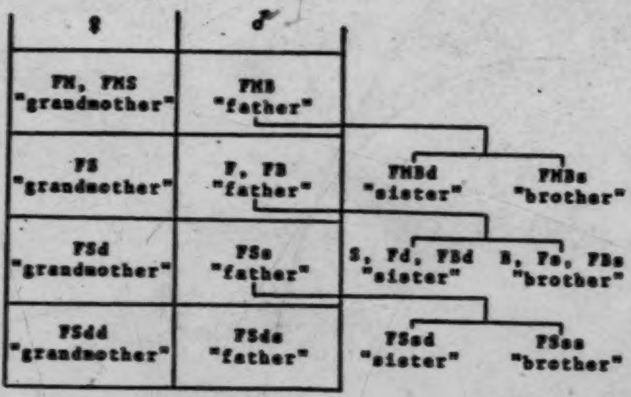
Father's Uterine Kin: · **Father's Filial and Fratrifilial Kin:**



♀	♂		
FM, FMS "grandmother"	FMB "father"		
FS "grandmother"	F, FB "father"	FMBd "sister"	FMBs "brother"
FSd "grandmother"	FSs "father"	S, Fd, FBd "sister"	B, Fs, FBs "brother"
FSdd "grandmother"	FSds "father"	FSsd "sister"	FSss "brother"

These equivalences are all common to the stronger varieties of Crow-type systems (types III and IV).

Chapter III

GENEALOGY AND CATEGORY

*601 What is the status of Bororo kinship categories: are they genealogically or categorically based? Are the categories prior, or are particular genealogical specifications prior? Which of these represent the fundamental meanings of the kinship terms? What is the essence of the notion of "kinship" for the Bororo? Are the categories primary, or are they derived by rules of extension from underlying genealogical foci?

At first glance, Bororo kinship terminology would seem to be a perfect case for the "social category" or "social group" theory of "kinship." Note the apparent "matrilineage" categories cutting across generations, for both males and females; and also the overwhelming importance of these categories in social life.

But yet there is evidence indicating a derivative status of the categories and primacy of genealogically specified foci within the categories.

1. Note the terminology for the lineal relations. These are mother (imuga), father (iyogwa), grandmother (imarugo), grandfather (iyedaga), child (itonaregedu), grandson (ivagedu), and granddaughter (irago), essentially like

*601 our own differentiations within this central domain of kinship.

2. Note especially the *bilaterality* of the "grandfather," "grandmother," "grandson," and "granddaughter" categories within this central domain. Both FF and MF are "grandfather"; both FM and MM are "grandmother"; ♂ss, ♂ds, ♀ss, ♀ds are all "grandson"; ♂sd, ♂dd, ♀sd, ♀dd are all "granddaughter." There is no matrilineal bias in this central domain, but rather a bilateral one.

The same *bilaterality* is expressed outside the central domain in the way the Bororo refer to their female ancestors. The Bororo occasionally use their kinship terms in referring to groups of people, especially in formal speeches. In this case the terms are in the plural and both male and female members of the group are mentioned in sequence:

imanamage - *ituyemage* when referring to the living people of Ego's own moiety

iyedagamage - *imarugomage* when referring to the ancestors of Ego's own moiety

iyogwamage - *imarugomage* when referring to both the living people and the ancestors of the opposite moiety.

As can be seen, the female ancestors of both moieties are called *imarugomage*. They are not terminologically distinguished. The term *imugamage* which we would expect as designation for females of one's own moiety, has exactly the opposite meaning: it is sometimes used by the men of

*601 one moiety for the women of the other moiety. Imuga in the singular is a class with only one member, one's own mother. Any man, however, as the representative of a dead person from the other moiety, will acquire several "ceremonial mothers," all of them from the opposite moiety. It is to those "ceremonial mothers" that the term imugamage refers.

3. A further contribution to the evidence comes from considering the classificatory "sister" categories: ituye ("older sister") and iviye aredu ("younger female sibling"). These include all female collateral members of Ego's matrilineage. But they exclude lineal relatives of this matrilineage. The collateral vs. lineal distinction, however, is strictly a genealogically based concept. Therefore the definition of the "sister" categories inescapably includes a genealogical component, as do also those of "mother," "grandmother," "daughter," and "granddaughter."

4. A fourth line of evidence is the Bororo use of descriptive terminology in appropriate, although rare, contexts. The meanings of these expressions point to genealogical foci for the constituent terms. For example, iyogwa umana ("my father's older brother") can refer to genealogical father's older brother, but cannot refer to father (Fig. a). This is possible only if iyogwa has the genealogical kin-type father as its primary referent, rather than a category such as "male of an opposed, or allied, matrilineage," for under this latter hypothetical category definition every male of such a matrilineage would be Ego's "father" (iyogwa)

*601 by equal right and title. Therefore, under this category hypothesis, any such male could be the referent of the first term in the expression iyogwa umana. Thus any classificatory "father" who is younger than Ego's genealogical father could equally well be the referent of that first term, iyogwa. Since Ego's genealogical father is that man's "older brother," the expression iyogwa umana should, under the social category hypothesis, be as applicable to Ego's genealogical father as it is to someone older than he, all depending on which one of Ego's "father's" happened, in the situational contexts of a given structure, to be the denotatum of the first term in the expression iyogwa umana (Fig. b). But this is not so. The expression is applicable only to an older brother, or older classificatory "brother," of Ego's own genealogical father.

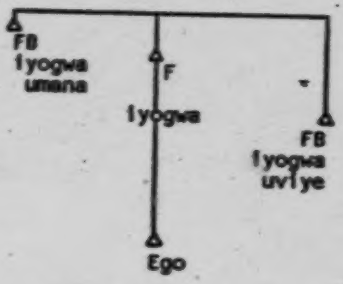


Fig. a

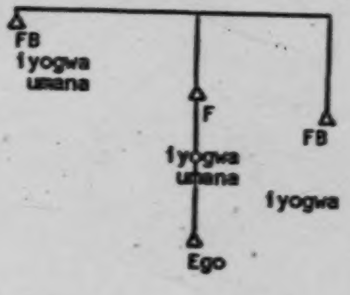


Fig. b

Descriptive terms can also be used in a broader sense. They can be applied to all persons with whom genealogical connections can be traced. The expression ("my eldest [or

*601 first born] sister's eldest [or first born] male child") is used to specify the party who should inherit Ego's names and lineage prerogatives (see page 85). The expression refers either to Ego's eldest own sister's eldest own son, these terms taken literally, or to a son of a collateral senior female of Ego's matrilineage. But all females of Ego's matriclan and matrimoiety who are not related to him genealogically are also his classificatory "sisters," and if the category hypothesis rather than genealogical hypothesis about fundamental meaning of the "sister" terms were correct, then all such women would be Ego's "sisters" by equal title. If this were the case, then obviously Ego's "eldest" or first born "sister" would probably not be his own genealogical sister or a female of his matrilineage who by equivalence rules can be reduced to this focal type, but would be the oldest surviving female of his matriclan or matrimoiety. And the denotatum of the expression *ituye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu* ("my eldest sister's eldest son") would be *that woman's* oldest son. But this is not the case. Rather, the expression is taken in a genealogical sense by the Bororo, and only if such a person is not available, is the reference given more latitude to find a substitute.

5. The matters of obligation and choice in the use of kinship terms are also pertinent to this question. For all the kinsmen with whom genealogical links can be specified, the use of kinship terms is obligatory. All males of one's

*601 father's matri*lineage* are one's "fathers" and should be referred to as such. In a broader sense all males older than Ego in his father's matri*clan* or matri*moiety* are also classified as "fathers," but in this case the relationship can be denied and a man may be referred to by his proper name rather than by the kinship term. Thus, where genealogical connections are known (within the father's matrilineage) the relationship must be acknowledged, but where such connections are not known (in his clan and moiety) the extended classificatory relationship need not be recognized.

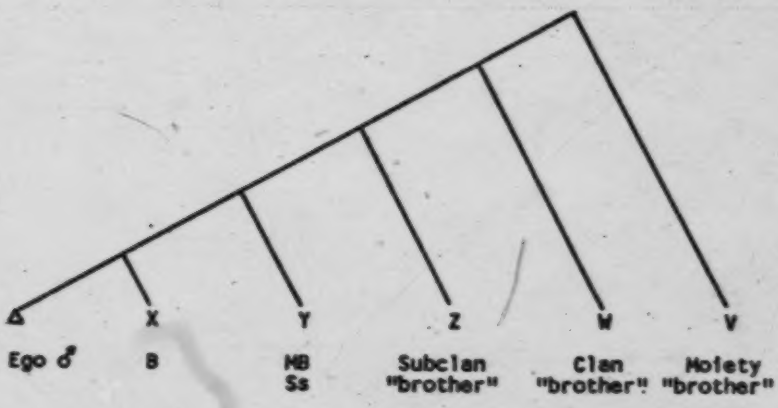
Similarly, a kinship tie can be denied to a member of one's own matri*clan* or matri*moiety*, with whom genealogical connections cannot be established. An old chief used to call "my grandson" a man from his subclan who belonged to a lineage considered very close to his own. But, once, when he remembered how a few years before, that man had deceived him and made love to his wife, he angrily said that the man was not his "grandson" at all, indeed he was not even his relative (*iwobe karega*). He could not have said this if a genealogical connection had existed between them.

Criteria for extension

Granted that the kinship categories have genealogically defined foci, that the kinship terms in their primary senses refer to these, and that the categorical senses of the terms represent extensions from these, a question must be asked about the nature of the extensions. Do the extensions result from the recognition of social categories, or are they

*601 premised on covert equivalences between particular genealogical positions?—i.e., are the terms extended from their foci to their total extended ranges at one stroke, or are the categories the cumulative result of separate steps of extension? Both manners of extension are found. Relevant evidence on this question is found in the way in which the Bororo talk about the reasons for things and in the way they answer pertinent questions.

The following diagram illustrates the use of the term _imana_ (older brother) from its genealogical focus to its broadest range of meaning.



Obligatory use of kinship terms. The categories are cumulative result of separate steps of extension.

Optional use of kinship terms. Terms are extended from their foci at one stroke.

X is classified as older brother (_imana_) because he and Ego share the same mother or the same father. The Bororo f601 say: "the same mother gave us birth" (*paje mitodu koyare pawodudo*); or "the same father gave us birth" (*pao mitodu koyare pawodudo*). Ego's own genealogical true brother (or sister), though a focal kin-type, is already relative product of parent-child relationship.

Y, for example, if older than Ego, is classified as older brother (*imana*) because he is Ego's older sister's child: "he is my older sister's child, my true older brother" (*ure ituye onaregedu*, *imana rogu remawu*). And "my older sister" is, as we have already seen, a relative product of the parent-child relationship.

Similarly, the classification of FSs as "father" rests upon his being a "brother" of my father. This shows that the "father" class has a focus and that the "brother" term is used here in a categorical sense. But we have already seen that the "brother" category also has a focus, viz. brother. This means that the "father" class has a focus, father, and that the extension in turn has a subfocus, viz. father's brother, etc... It is legitimate to argue that I call him (father's sister's son) "my father" because he is my father's "brother," but he is my father's "brother" because he is his sister's son, etc.

An informant belonging to the Birimodo lineage will explain that he classifies Z, W, and V as *imana* because:

Z is Aroredu Choreu, i.e., he belongs to the same subclan as Birimodo.

W is Aroredu Kujagureu, i.e., he belongs to the same

*601 clan as Birimodo

V is ivagududogedu, i.e., he belongs to the same moiety as Birimodo.

Thus genealogically related persons are classified according to covert equivalences between particular genealogical positions, while the extension of kin terms to larger social groups is done by categorical extensions.

*601
602 It should be also pointed out that the degree of rights and duties changes as the meaning of the terms becomes broader. The obligation to feed someone, to care for him, or mourn his death becomes less and less binding as the term is extended to persons further removed from the genealogical focus.

*601 To the preceding discussion it should be added that the term imana (older brother) is also used in reference to senior male members of one's own lineage to whom genealogical connections cannot be traced because they have lived in some distant village. (I am aware that a more appropriate term for Bororo-type lineages would be sub-sub-clan, but the term is too clumsy.) The reason for calling them brothers, the Bororo say, is because they belong to the same lineage. This is the same explanation as that which was given for subclan, clan and moiety "brothers" (Z, W, V). But for lineage brothers kinship terms are obligatory as they are for genealogically related persons (X and Y).

Chapter IV

FORMULATION OF THE PRIMARY DEFINITIONS AND THE RULES OF EQUIVALENCE

*601 Following the discussion in the preceding chapter we can specify the primary meaning and the focal kin types of the kinship terms:

1. iyedaga: "grandfather"—FF, MF
2. imarugo: "grandmother"—FM, MM
3. iyogwa: "father"—F
4. inodowu: "stepfather"—MH
5. imuga: "mother"—M
6. imana: "older brother of a man"—♂B (older than Ego)
7. ivuri: "older brother of a woman"—♀B (older than Ego)
8. ituye: "older sister"—S (older than Ego)
9. iviye: "younger sibling"—B, S (both younger than Ego)
10. itonaregedu: "Child"—s, d
11. ivagedu: "grandson"—ss, ds
12. irago: "granddaughter"—sd, dd
13. itoredu: "husband"—H
14. itoreduje: "wife"—W

Equivalence Rules

1. The Equivalence of a Woman's Brother and her Son. On Tables IV, V, and VI we have already made some preliminary notes on Bororo kin classification which shows equivalence of a woman's brother and her son in certain contexts. In consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a person's mother's brother and his or her brother (imana or ivuri, and iviye) and between a woman's brother's child and her son's child (ivagedu and irago). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between wife's brother and wife's son (itonaregedu) and between a woman's brother's wife and her son's wife (irago). The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals holds true, i.e., in the consanguineal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's children and his own siblings (iviye), and between a person's father's sister and his or her father's mother (imarugo). In the affinal domain there is an equivalence between a man's sister's husband and his mother's husband (inodowu), and between a woman's husband's sister and her husband's mother (imarugo). We see that only a woman's own brother is not classified as her "son." We have here an example of Lounsbury's Crow-type IV. This can be phrased as: with the exception of the case of female Ego's brother as a designated kinsman, any woman's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to her son. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: with the exception of the case of male Ego's sister as a designated kinswoman, any man's sister is

to be regarded as structurally equivalent to his mother. Or in symbolic notation:

$$(\overbrace{\text{♀B}} \rightarrow \overbrace{\text{♀S}}) \equiv (\overbrace{\text{♂S}} \rightarrow \overbrace{\text{♂M}})$$

The new symbol that is here used, a bracket above a kin type, means that the concerned kin type is contextually restricted from one side or the other, and that the right-hand and left-hand context restrictions cannot be removed at the same time, although both may apply at the same time.

2. The Equivalence of Brothers. The Bororo data indicate that only consanguineal kin types and, among them, only brothers, are classified in conformity with a principle of equivalence of siblings of the same sex; i.e., a man's brother's children and his own children are in the same kin class (itonaregedu), but a man's brother's wife and his own wife are in different classes (irago and itoreduje respectively). Also a woman's sister's children (ivuri, ituye or iviye) and her own children (itonaregedu); are in different classes as well as a woman's sister's husband (inodowu or ivagedu) and her husband (itoredu). Thus the merging rule must be written accordingly, specifying the equivalence of brothers in consanguineal contexts, and excluding the equivalence of sisters, as well as of affinal contexts. The rule states that any man's brother's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's father's brother is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father. In symbolic notation, this rule and its

593 converse can be expressed as:

$$(♂Bc \rightarrow ♂c) \equiv (FB \rightarrow F)$$

604 3. The Equivalence of Mother's Sister and Own Sister.
593 It remains to be seen how a woman's sister's children are classified. If we examine the data we see that they are in the same class as a woman's siblings and her mother's siblings: any woman's sister's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that woman's sibling. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's sister is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sister. In symbolic notation this parallel-collateral skewing rule and its converse can be expressed as:

$$(♀Sc \rightarrow ♀B/S) \equiv (MS \rightarrow S)$$

It can be readily seen that this rule, together with the Crow-type IV skewing rule in the consanguineal domain, expresses the equivalence of a child and his, or her, mother in certain contexts. We could even combine these two rules into a collateral skewing rule which would affect both parallel and cross collateral kin types, stating the equivalence of a person's mother's siblings, with a person's own siblings. This form would be quite convenient if we had set as our task to account only for consanguineal kinship terms. But, since in dealing with affinal kin types we would have to introduce again the Crow-type skewing rule, it seems better to write the rules separately as we have done. Furthermore, unless one is a total 'relativist,' then typology is a legitimate and meaningful concern; in which case one

604 wants to recognize that this _is_ a Crow-type system, and one
593 wants to bring out what _kind_ of a Crow-type it is. However it should be clear that the alternative is not between different solutions, but only between two ways of expressing the same thing.

593 4. _The Equivalence of Half Siblings and Full Siblings_. The Bororo data indicate that half siblings and full siblings are classified together, thus the rule expressing structural equivalence between half siblings and full siblings, does not present any restriction: any person's parent's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's sibling. In symbolic notation:

Pc → B/S

With the four rules derived so far, all the Bororo consanguineal kin types, except some alternative designations, can be reduced to their primary meanings.

5. _The Equivalence of Stepfather and Father; the Nonequivalence of Stepmother and Mother_. A man's stepchild and his own are terminologically equivalent (_itonaregedu_). In symbolic notation:

Wc → c

i.e., any man's wife's child is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that man's own child. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any person's mother's husband is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to that person's father:

MH → F

593 The corollary appears not to hold because father and step-
father belong to two different kin classes, iyogwa and
inodowu respectively. There are several reasons for clas-
sifying these together into a single superclass "FATHER."
One has already been mentioned: they have the same recip-
rocals. If iyogwa and inodowu were to be regarded as two
separate classes, the commonly shared reciprocal class of
"child" would also have to be subdivided in two classes:
one of "consanguineal child" and the other of "stepchild."
This, however, would be in disagreement with the data, and
another rule would be necessary to merge these two classes
again. Secondly, other kin types such as father's mother's
husband and father's sister's husband (which by the Crow rule
is reduced to father's mother's husband) would require the
reintroduction of a step-kin rule in order to be reduced to
593 their corresponding focus, which is father's father. Final-
*601 ly, though stepfather is the focal point of the inodowu
class, in practice the stepfather is always addressed by his
stepchild as "father" (iyogwa), or by his name if the step-
child is an adult, And also in making reference to him (non-
vocative), the stepchild will tend to use the term iyogwa or
his proper name.

The term otowu (otowu is the third person singular of inodowu) which refers also to a man's sister's husband has become somewhat deprecative: it connotes the wife-receiver, the debtor, who cannot refuse to comply with his wife's brothers' wishes. Thus a child calls his stepfather who

593 provides and cares for him "father," a broader term which
*601 does not have this derogatory connotation.

All these considerations show that the equivalence rule is correct, and that the classes of "father" and "mother's husband" should be included in a hypothetical superclass "FATHER," which can in turn be broken down into the subclasses of "father" and "stepfather" by componential definitions.

The kin types "father's wife" and "father's brother's wife" are not in our list of kin terms. The Bororo do not consider them as relatives: one's stepmother is not regarded as a relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: a woman's stepchild is not regarded as a relative. In symbolic notation:

$$FW \rightarrow \emptyset \qquad Hc \rightarrow \emptyset$$

Thus far we have accounted for most consanguineal and step types. The Bororo kinship terminology does not have any separate "in-law" terms, therefore the next step is to see how the in-laws are merged with consanguineal categories.
[603] In addition an alternative classification of mother's brother and mother's mother's brother as "grandfather" (iyedaga) should be discussed.

582 6. Naming Rule. Bororo ideology places emphasis on the positive prescription to marry in the opposite moiety rather than on the negative proscription not to marry in the same moiety, i.e., on the alliance between moieties rather than on a prohibition of "incest." Marriage should ideally

582 be contracted with a woman who belongs to one of the lineages of the opposite moiety with which Ego's lineage, through exchange of cultural items and ceremonies, have established alliance in the mythical past. Theoretically one's father, one's wife, and one's son all belong to such a lineage.

613 In the light of the above prescription it is interesting to see the Bororo criteria for ascribing true lineage membership. In the Bororo view, in order to be a true member of a particular lineage a person should not only belong to that lineage, but should also be son of a man of an allied lineage. Allied lineages exchange ceremonial performances. The actors of such performances will preferentially be chosen among the "true" members of an allied lineage or, at least, among the "true" members of the opposite moiety, i.e., their mother and their father should be from different moieties.

553 Similarly, one of a child's older "brothers" (MB, MMB)
604 should be his namegiver. It is essential that, at least terminologically, the namegiver and the namereceiver are related both matrilaterally and patrilaterally. This is the case only if, at least in theory, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was upheld in every generation. In this case a person's mother's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father, and a person's mother's brother will be at the same time his or her father's father's sister's son (see Table VII). The first kin type (FF) is al-

[Text Continued On Page 43]

Table VII

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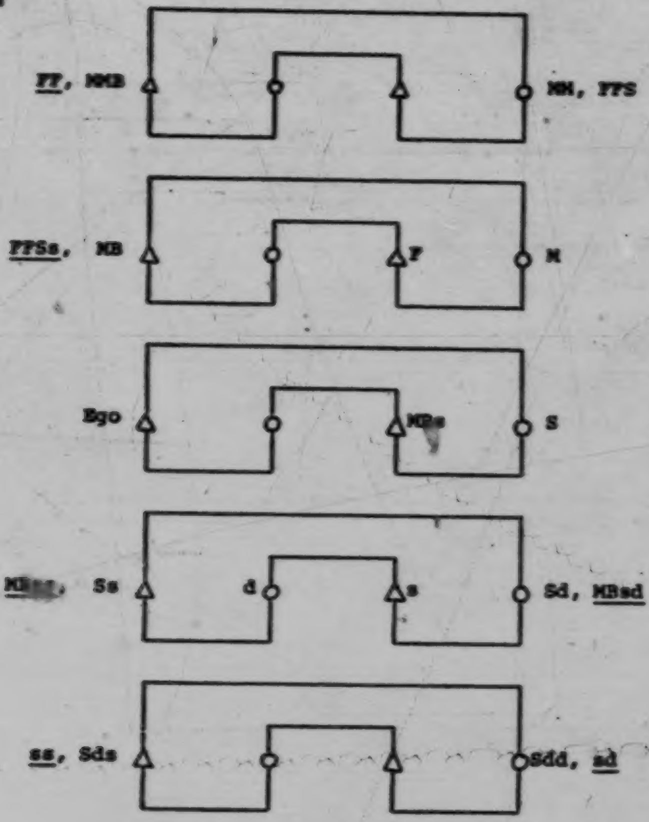
FF, MMB
MM, FFS
FFSs, MB
F
M
Ego
MBs
S
MBss, Ss
d
s
Sd, MBsd
ss, Sds
Sdd, sd

553 ready "grandfather" (iyedaga) by definition, while the sec-
604 ond kin type (FFSs) is brought into the same class by equiv-
alences already presented:

FFSs → FFMs (by the skewing rule)
→ FFB (by the half sibling rule)
→ FF (by the merging rule)
∴ iyedaga (by definition)

Thus the naming rule should be written as: any senior matrilateral relative who is Ego's namegiver should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's senior patrilateral relative. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals is: any junior sororifilial relative to whom Ego gave a name should be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's junior fratrifilial relative.

304 The same rule applies also to the senior "brother" (MB,
604 MMB) who pierces the ear lobe of Ego. The rule was written
553 without specifying the sex of the namegiver. On some very
604 rare occasions a child's "older sister" (MS, MMS) will pro-
*[601] pose the name for him (her). If her suggestion is accepted,
the child will call her imarugo ("grandmother"). There is
*601
604 still another instance in which a person calls his "older
[846] sister" imarugo, and that is when this "sister" cuts the
umbilical cord when the child is born, in absence of a woman belonging to the lineage or clan of the child's father, who normally have this prerogative. Reductions applied to her are:

*601
604

MMS → FFS (by the naming rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

MS → FFSd (by the naming rule)
→ FFMd (by the skewing rule)
→ FFS (by the half-sibling rule)
→ FFM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

*601
[582]

7. The restricted equivalence of spouses and cross-cousins. In discussing the naming Rule we have shown the necessity of a bilateral prescriptive marriage rule to account for alternative classifications of MB, and MMB. We also said that there are no affinal terms for affinal relations; consanguineal terms are applied to them. A "marriage rule" or "prescription" would thus seem to be necessary. First let us see which one of the kin types have not yet been accounted for:

in the iyedaga ("grandfather") category: wife's father, husband's father, and husband's brother (WF, HF, HH)

in the imarugo ("grandmother") category: wife's mother, husband's mother, and wife's older sister: (WM, HM, WS$^+$)

in the inodowu ("step-father") category: a woman's older sister's husband: (♀S$^+$H)

in the itonaregedu ("child") category: wife's younger sister: (WS$^-$)

*601 in the iyagedu ("grandson") category: son's wife and a woman's younger sister's husband: (sW, ♀S¯H)

in the irago ("granddaughter") category: daughter's husband and a man's brother's wife. (dH, ♂BW)

(It should be noted that some of these kin types represent not only these kin types themselves, but also others which are equivalent to them as a result of previous reductions. For example: husband's father's brother has been reduced to husband's father by the application of the rule stating the equivalence of brothers; husband's mother's brother has been reduced to husband's brother by the Crow skewing rule, etc.)

*601 583 While the terminology for affinal relatives suggests the necessity of a marriage prescription, in itself it does not lead to a unique specification, in genealogical terms, for such a prescription (although it may be noted that some, but not all, of the data would be consistent with a rule of bilateral (symmetrical) cross-cousin marriage).

*601 603 606 If, for the time being, we postpone consideration of parallel siblings' spouses and spouses' parallel siblings, we see that in the kin types wife's father, wife's mother, husband's father, and husband's mother, one's spouse's parents are terminologically equivalent to "grandparents," and also that in the kin types son's wife and daughter's husband, the spouses of one's children are terminologically equivalent to "grandchildren." Again, as it was the case in the discussion of naming, Ego's mother's brother whose

*601 daughter Ego marries should be, at least terminologically,
603 his "true lineage brother" i.e., related to him both matri-
606 laterally and patrilaterally. The Bororo say that they call iyedaga ("grandfather") that particular imana ("older brother") who gave them a name, and that particular imana whose daughter they marry.

*601 The equivalence rule, with necessary restrictions to
604 in-laws from different generations and taking into account
606 the patrilaterality of MB can be written as follows:

$$(\mathrm{SpF}| \rightarrow \mathrm{MB}| \rightarrow \mathrm{FFSs}|) \equiv (|\mathrm{dcSp} \rightarrow |\text{♂}\,\mathrm{Sc} \rightarrow |\hat{\text{♂}}\mathrm{MBsc})$$

$$(\mathrm{SpM}| \rightarrow \mathrm{FS}|) \equiv (|\text{♀}\mathrm{cSp} \rightarrow |\text{♀}\mathrm{Bc})$$

i.e.: Ego's spouse's parent is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-uncle and cross-aunt. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocalsis: Ego's child's spouse is to be regarded as structurally equivalent to Ego's cross-nephew and cross-niece. The straight vertical line indicates a context restriction. When it is prefixed it means "no preceding linkage," and when suffixed, "no following linkage" (Lounsbury 1965: 168).

*601 It should be noted that the "marriage rule" was posited
582 as a de facto state of affairs, regardless of whether or not such a prescription was positively stated by the Bororo. In fact, the Bororo do not say that a person should marry his cross-cousins. They emphasize that a man should marry
*601 in an allied lineage. But the women of this allied lineage are either his classificatory "grandmothers" (FS, FSd, etc.) or his classificatory "daughters" (d, MBd, etc.). Moreover,

*601 though a man refers to his wife as itoreduje, and a woman refers to his husband as itoredu, they address each other by the terms they were using before marriage. A man addresses his wife either as "grandmother" (imarugo) or as "woman" (aredu - which is the vocative term for children and younger siblings), and reciprocally a woman addresses her husband as "grandchild" (ivagedu) or as "father" (iyogwa).[1]

On the other hand, we see that the classification of spouses of the same sex siblings is not consistent with this marriage prescription: if the brother is older than Ego we should expect the following derivation:

♂ BW → ♂ FSd (by the marriage rule)
→ ♂ FMd (by the skewing rule)
→ ♂ FS (by the half-sibling rule)
→ ♂ FM (by the skewing rule)
∴ imarugo (by definition)

and if the brother is younger than Ego, we should expect the following:

♂ BW → ♂ MBd (by the marriage rule)
→ ♂ Bd (by the skewing rule)
→ ♂ d (by the merging rule)
∴ itonaregedu (by definition)

As we see, according to our assumptions so far, a man's older

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[1] The term "father" as used by a female takes on connotation of an affine, nevertheless a woman does not marry her own father.

*601 brother's wife should be called imarugo ("grandmother"), a man's younger brother's wife should be called itonaregedu ("child"). By similar derivations a woman's older sister's husband would be reduced to iyogwa ("father"), and a woman's *601 younger sister's husband to ivagedu ("grandson"). But only 607 one of these designations is correct: a woman refers to her younger sister's husband as ivagedu, while she refers to her older sister's husband as inodowu ("stepfather"). And a man refers to his brothers' wives as irago ("granddaughter"). It is obvious that in affinal domain, the same sex siblings are not equivalent. To bring them to their focal kintypes we need yet other rules.

*601 Expansion of Rule 3: the Equivalence of a Woman's Sister and her Mother. A woman's older sister's husband is classified as "stepfather." Her younger sister's husband as [593] "grandson." The rule necessary to account for this classification [603] requires that a woman's older sister, in this context, be equivalent to that woman's mother, and that a woman's younger sister be equivalent to that woman's daughter. This rule and the rule of equivalence of mother's sister and own sister show fundamental similarities. They can be combined and written together, specifying the equivalence of a woman's sister and her mother.

$$(\overline{\text{♀S}} \rightarrow \overline{\text{♀M}}) = (\overline{\text{♀S}} \rightarrow \overline{\text{♀d}})$$

This rule and its corollary should not be applied to the same context. The applicability of the upward and downward equivalence should be restricted as follows: if "♀" is M, *601 then the downward equivalence is the correct one:

MS → Md → S

This has the consequence for the reciprocal type:

♀Sc → ♀Mc → ♀B/S

If "♀" is Ego, and S is a link to H (rather than child), then *both* directions are appropriate, depending on the relative age of S with respect to Ego:

♀S^{+}H → ♀MH

♀S^{-}H → ♀dH

8. *The Equivalence of a Man and his Mother, or Sister (or his Lineage) in One Affinal Relationship*. The classification of a man's brother's wife as *irago* is the most unusual. It seemed so odd, that in the field I spent a month checking on this piece of data, but the Bororo were firm on this classification and finally I had to accept their explanation of [601] this unusual occurrence. They repeatedly said that either the man classifies his brother's wife as if he were a woman or that the man classifies her as his mother does, i.e. that in his relation to her, he takes the place of his mother: (*imuga mugatowu imireo*). Thus we must determine what it is that his mother or his sister call the woman in question. To Ego's mother, this woman is sW. To Ego's sister, this same woman is BW; but ♀BW → ♀sW. Thus, both to Ego's mother and to Ego's sister, this woman (Ego's BW) is *irago*. This, then, is what according to Bororo testimony ♂ Ego must call her. She then must call him by the reciprocal term for a male, viz. *iyedaga*.

613 Each man identifies himself with the lineage he belongs
*601 to, and the core of the lineage are the women. A woman who
606 marries "son" of the lineage is a "daughter-in-law" of the
lineage. In this usage irago is a group-centered rather
than Ego-centered term. This is corroborated by the fact
that any woman who marries in the lineage is referred to by
all the members of that lineafe as "our daughter-in-law"
(parago—1st person plural inclusive.)

*601 This rule though strange, is yet another variant of
general equivalence of a mother and her child which was expressed in different ways in the Crow rule (which equated mother's brother with brother), in female parallel collateral skewing rule (which equated mother's sister with sister), and it will be apparent again in the vocative system (where one's mother's parents are equated with one's own parents).

*601 Here also I would like to make an exception and antici-
607 pate the social meaning of the present equivalence rule. By
835 placing brother's wife in the category of irago, the Bororo
removed her from the category of sexual partners to which
she previously belonged (as imarugo or itonaregedu), and so
through the terminology, they express the ideal and the
necessity of solidarity among brothers.

*601 With this, the analysis of the Bororo referential system
is concluded. All the kin types have been accounted for and
reduced to their focal kin types. The boundaries of the sys-
*601 tem coincide closely with the list on pages 11-18. Occa-
609 sionally, if convenient, some Bororo may restrict or extend

*601 609 these boundaries, but most of the time for genealogically more distant kin they will switch to extragenealogical extensions and apply criteria different from those used in referring to genealogically close kinsmen.

128 The test of the rules, i.e., the reduction of kin types to their class foci will be found in the Appendix.

Chapter V

ADDITIONAL DATA CONCERNING KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Terms of Address

114 In my discussion of the Bororo referential terminology,
*601 I have not made any use of the literature available on the subject (Albisetti, 1948: 1[illegible]-11; Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962: 452-475; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 51; Lévi-Strauss, 1936: 281; Oberg, 1953: 127). The published data present a great deal of inconsistency, due to the difficulty in distinguishing among the different terminological systems which, side by side and often cross-cutting each other, are used by the Bororo.

*601 The terms of address constitute one of these systems. I will not give a list of all the vocative kin terms, because most of them are identical with the referential kin terms. Only the differences between the two systems will be noted.

The descriptive term for son is itonaregedu imedu ("male child"), for daughter is itonaregedu aredu ("female child"), for younger brother iviye imedu ("male younger sibling"), for
*601 younger sister iviye aredu ("female younger sibling"). In
561 the referential system the distinction between sexes was
562 neutralized and both son and daughter were referred to as itonaregedu ("child") and both younger sister and younger

*601 brother were referred to as iviye ("younger sibling"). In
561 the system of address the distinction between generations is
562 neutralized and the sex differentiation stressed, so that both son and younger brother are called imedu ("man" or "male") and both daughter and younger sister are called aredu ("woman" or "female").

System of Reference	System of Address
"younger sibling" (iviye)	"man" or "male" (imedu)
"child" (itonaregedu)	"woman" or "female" (aredu)

*601 The terms for these new designations do not take the prefix for the first singular, i, it, in, which all of the reference terms have (i in imedu is part of the root), and they usually have postposed the adjectives "young" and "old" which will be discussed later.

Second, there is a merger of certain kin types from the grandparents' generation with those of the parents' generation:

$$(MP \rightarrow P) = (dc \rightarrow c)$$

i.e., Ego's mother's parents are addressed in the same way as Ego's own parents. The corollary pertaining to the reciprocals also holds: Ego's daughter's child is addressed in the same way as Ego's own child.

We can immediately perceive the structural similarity of this rule with the Crow Type IV rule in the consanguineal domain and with the female parallel-collateral skewing rule. This is the third time that the structural equivalence of

This is the third time that the structural equivalence of *601 the child and his or her mother is required in accounting for 593 kin terms. Though the social correlates of the rules will be discussed in subsequent chapters, we may even now start to wonder about the nature and importance of the mother-child relation for the Bororo.

There are still some more kin types that remain to be discussed. The first is "father's child." By our step-kin rule, father's children, younger than Ego, are considered younger siblings and are classified appropriately as ivive, or vocatively as imedu and aredu. (An alternative designation for them is ikobo. This term is applied both referentially and vocatively, but only knowledgeable members of the society use it at all, and then only very rarely.) However, if the person's father's child is a member of the opposite moiety (i.e., if their common father had the child by a woman of his own moiety), he will not be addressed by any kinship [576] term at all. The Bororo say that it is not polite to remind a brother that he is the child of an endogamous relation. [835] Thus he will usually be addressed by his name. "...but," said one of my informants, "if my sister from the other moiety makes sexual advances to me, I should say to her 'Do not play with me, the same father caused our birth, so do not behave in this way, I am your brother (avuri).'"[1]

There are two other kin types that differ, in the system

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[1] "Awadu kaba, pao mitodu koyare pawodudo. Kodire aro modu kare ino. Avuri nure imi."

*601 593 of address, from their referential forms. These are "husband" and "wife," whose referential forms are _itoredu_, _itoreduje_. A man will address his wife as _imarugo_ (reciprocal: _ivagedu_) or _aredu_ (reciprocal: _iyogwa_), depending on her belonging to his father's clan, or her being the daughter of his true or classificatory brother, or they will call each other by their names. It seems that even a descriptive form is considered very formal in reference to one's spouse, and is rarely, if ever, used in first person singular. A person speaking about the spouse will use his or her name. I heard the terms for wife and husband being used only with second and third person pronouns: "Where is your husband (_akoredu_)?", "Where is his wife (_oreduje_)?" The Bororo say that a wife will call her husband _itoredu_ only if he acts in a good way to her brothers, i.e., all of his classificatory children; and it seems that these good stepfathers are very rare among contemporary Bororo.

The last kin type that remains to be discussed is "mother's husband." As previously mentioned, although this kin type is the focal kin type of the class _indowu_, this term is never used in addressing the true mother's husband. The small child will call his mother's husband _iyogwa_; grown-ups will call him by the terms they would use if he were not married to their mother.

Specific Terms

*601 The Bororo kinship terminology presented so far is defective with regard to the different shades of meaning possible within any particular kin class. These differences are communicated by the adjectives *pega* and *rogu* and their compound *pega-rogu* added to both referential and vocative terms. These adjectives are so much part of the common usage that even their absence is significant. In the Bororo language *pega* means "bad" or "old," and *rogu* means "small," but when suffixed to a kinship term they function as part of a special semantic domain. Some of these combinations of noun and adjectives are obligatory for particular kin types, while others are freely chosen by the speaker in order to convey the [593] desired feelings. For example, *iyogwa* without an adjective is the obligatory vocative term for one's own father, while *iyogwa pega* is the obligatory vocative term for one's [603] mother's father. However, women may address their mother's [605] father, if he is very, very old, as *iyogwa pega-rogu*. The use of adjectives with the term *imarugo* follows a similar pattern, the only difference being that the man is allowed to allude to possible intimacy with his father's sister's daughter. Therefore he calls her *imarugo pega* or *imarugo* *601 *pega-rogu* if she is still a child. A man will always ad- 606 dress his wife's mother formally, i.e., *imarugo*, but if she is so old that any possible involvement between the two is unthinkable, he may address her affectionately *imarugo pega*. An old woman from the opposite moiety who has many daughters

*601 606 with whom one may flirt, will be jokingly referred to as pajarugo pega-rogu, meaning in this case "our poor little mother-in-law." Also the father of the girls will be called payedaga pega-rogu "our poor little father-in-law," while the women will use this same expression only for a very old man close to death. The term for the wife's true father, and for one's namegiver who is not very old, will remain iyedaga without an adjective.

Another good example of manipulation of the available contrastive set can be seen in the relation between a woman and her daughter-in-law. If a child marriage was contracted, the woman will call her small daughter-in-law irago rogu. When the girl grows up and gradually takes over her responsibilities toward her husband and his mother, she will call her daughter-in-law irago pega if the two women are on good terms and the mother-in-law is satisfied by the attentions paid to her. If, on the other hand, their relations are not so good, she may show her dissatisfaction by calling her only irago. Finally when the mother-in-law is called to assist a daughter-in-law in labor, she will express her affection and concern for the girl by calling her irago pega-rogu.

*601 593 Another final distinction expressed through the use of adjectives is that made between true siblings and "siblings" arrived at by extragenealogical, social extensions. In the first case rogu will be added to the respective term, but will be omitted in the second instance. The following di-

The following di-
*601 agram presents the summary of semantic analysis of the ad-
602 jectives as they are suffixed to Ego's senior and junior
kinsmen:

	Senior	Junior
ø	Formality Addressee relatively young	Formality Addressee relatively old
Pega	Old addressee (Affection)	Affection
Rogu	True kinsman	Young Addressee (True kinsman)
Pega-rogu	Very old addressee Compassion	Very young addressee Compassion

The Bororo, however, do not use the combinations illus-
trated in the diagram for all theoretically possible kin
[606] types. For example, HB, who may be a young child, will be
[593] always addressed formally, as will the class of *inodowu*
("stepfather"). The diagram on page 59 illustrates the
matchings of kin terms with the different adjectives that
*601 are normally used. The diagram does not include some spe-
602 cial cases related to changes of kinship terms in connection
768 with death. For example, if the living representative of
one's dead son is older than Ego, he may be addressed as
*601 *itonaregedu pega*. An ironic use of *imuga rogu* and *imarugo*
pega-rogu will be taken up later in discussing kinship
terminology used for joking.

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	"grand-father" and "mother"	"sibling"	"grand-mother" and "father"	"grand-child" and "child"	
pega rogu	+	+	+		Senior
pega	+	+	+		
rogu		+			
0	+	+	+	+	
0	+	+	+	+	Junior
rogu		+	+	+	
pega			+	+	
pega rogu			+	+	

[562] The two subclasses "man" or "male" (imedu) and "woman" or "female" (aredu) are not included in the diagram because the application of the adjective to them follows the same rules as for "younger siblings" and "children."

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561 The kinship terms can receive further specifications. The most important among these are those used in connection with relative age or the birth order of siblings. Ego will describe his or her sibling born before him either as itododaiwu ("the one before me"), or pebutoijagiwu ("the one born before me"), or ikodurekodajiwu ("the one whom I follow"). He will describe his sibling born after him either as

*601 *ipebutojagiwu* ("the one born after me"), or *koduirekodajiwu*
561 ("the one who follows me"). The first-born is designated
boetojiwu ("the first one"), while the last-born is designated
boigoduwu ("the last"). When there are three brothers,
the oldest will be described as *etumanareu* ("their older
brother"), the second as *boyadadawu* ("the one in the middle"),
and the youngest one as *etuviyereu* ("their younger
brother"). Further, any young sibling also can be addressed
*601 as *imedregedu*. Finally there is a special term for
304 a man's first born son, *ikenojiwu* ("the one on my nose,"
which alludes to the custom of piercing a man's nasal septum
on the same occasion when his first-born son is given a name).

*601 There are still a few more alternative terms that should
be mentioned here. These are mostly those related to actual
607 differences in relationships among kinsmen. If a man quarrels
*601 with his sister's husband, he will call the latter
otogududogedu ("the one to whom pity was shown," meaning that
the brothers gave their sister as wife to him out of pity).
He will be called in return by his proper name instead of
imedu. Two men married to sisters, if on good terms, may
choose to call each other reciprocally either *ito inowu* ("the
one like me") or *imeduya* ("my companion") instead of *iyedaga*
and *ivagedu*. Similarly two women married to the same man,
will call each other reciprocally either *itoydo* ("the one
*601 like me") or *imedago* ("my companion"). There are also some
593 conventional expressions used when two people speak about a
third person to whom both of them are related. For example,

*601 one parent speaking to the other about their child will say
593 akonaregedu ("your child"), while a woman speaking to another
about their common husband will say akoredu (your husband).
A mother speaking to her sons about their father will say
tameduya (your companion), while a father speaking to his
daughter about their mother will say tamedago (your companion).
*601 Finally, in some cases it is considered more polite
576 to refer to kinsmen descriptively instead of mentioning the
class to which they belong. Thus if a man is looking for his
sister-in-law and he is a polite person he will ask, "Where
is my brother's wife (imana oreduje pa, or kaiba imana
oreduje kodure)?"

Choice among Alternative Designations

*601 As a general rule it may be said that: 1. When a person
611 is doubly related to Ego, both matrilaterally and patrilaterally,
the relationship traced through the mother takes
precedence over the one traced through the father. In case
FSs is also MBc then itonaregedu (MBc) takes precedence over
*601 imarugo (FSd) and iyogwa (FSs). 2. The term traced through
593 marriage of a person or one of his kinsmen takes precedence
over the one traced through parents: in case that MBs is
also SH, inodowu (SH) takes precedence over itonaregedu (MBs).

*601 In the case of sister exchange and marriage, where two
607 men are at the same time "wife's brother" and "sister's husband"
to each other they will call each other either inodowu
or itonaregedu. I did not have the opportunity to personally
observe this kind of relation.

*601 602 The rules mentioned above are not valid if the choice is between a close and a more distant genealogical relation, or between a genealogically extended and a categorically extended kinship term. In this case precedence is given to the term traced through the closest genealogical link. Thus, for example, if Ego's true father's sister's daughter is married to his clan "brother" or moiety "brother," Ego will continue to call her imarugo. If the link in both positions are Ego's kinsmen only by social extensions, the choice of the term is arbitrary and left to the will of the parties involved.

*601 603 Another conflict may arise between a kin term and the actual role that somebody plays towards a kinsman. The most frequent case is that of the father's mother or father's sister who is called imuga, "mother," instead of imarugo, "grandmother," by a child. This usually happens when the child's true mother dies and there is no other woman of her lineage who can take care of the child, or when the mother is living but the child feels more at home with his paternal relatives. In both cases the child is raised by his father's mother or by his father's sister, and he addresses them and refers to them and their husbands in accordance with the actual role they sustained with him. However, the use of the terms is regarded as a nice fiction. The child never becomes a clan or moiety member of his acquired mother and his actual genealogical connections are never obscured.

Extragenealogical Extensions of Kinship Terms

*601 613 On the most basic level of contrast, relatives from the same lineage, e.g., mother and siblings, are designated as "iwobe." The other kinsmen are not covered by any common term. One of my informants explained it to me in this way: "my mother is iwobe, my 'older brother' is iwobe, my 'older sister' is iwobe; all my 'younger siblings' are iwobe, but my 'father' is my 'father,' my 'grandfather' is my 'grandfather,' etc. Only my 'older brother' who gave me the name is the 'grandfather' who is my iwobe."

When contrasted on a higher level, all the lineages of a subclan can be considered iwobe in contrast to another subclan. For example, a man of the subclan Ivagududoge Choreu, the "Black Ivagududoge," will consider only the people who are Ivagududoge Choreu as iwobe, while he will consider as imedage, "companions," or "people like myself," those belonging to the other subclan Ivagududoge Kujagureu, the "Red
*601 614 Ivagududoge." But when the contrast is made between two different clans (rather than subclans), the same man would, for example, recognize as iwobe all the Ivagududoge, "Black" and "Red" alike, in opposition to the clan of Aroroe.

*601 616 The merging can be carried further including into iwobe the people of one's own moiety in opposition to those of the other moiety. The latter will be called cheyorubodarege, or
*601 613 cheyadumage (first person plural exclusive). The meaning of iyorubodare (fem. iyorubodaredu), on the basic level of contrast, is approximately "a person from the lineage with which

*601 my lineage is traditionally bound in reciprocal exchange of
613 spouses and ceremonial duties." I will translate *yorubodare* as "allié," and the relationship between *yorubodare* as "alliance." Members of the opposite sex of an allied lineage, e.g., potential or actual spouses, are also alternatively designated as *ikoge* ("my husbands") and *ivire* ("my wives"). Even if a person does not marry into an allied lineage he will continue to call its members by these terms. Also, one's "initiator" ideally should be chosen from such an allied lineage, but he will still be designated as *yorubodare* even if he was chosen from some other nonallied lineage. The definition of *yadu*, of which *yadumage* is the plural, is more
*601 controversial. When somebody dies his relatives from the
613 same lineage call the person chosen to represent the dead,
616
768 *yadu*. But, when speaking of *yadumage* as a group, the Bororo have discordant opinions whether or not this term should be applied to: (a) all the people from the other moiety, part of whom are more specifically considered *yorubodarege*; (b) the members of the lineages which are not *yorubodarege* (in this case the moiety is conceived as being divided into *yorubodarege* and *yadumage*); (c) some specific lineages with which one's own lineage stands in a relationship of traditional exchange of representatives of the dead;[1] or (d) actual representatives of the dead, who preferentially should be chosen among the *yorubodarege* lineages.

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[1] this is a theoretical supposition, since no Bororo can give any concrete example of this kind.

101 be chosen among the yorubodarege lineages. But whatever the correct interpretation is, if in fact there is one, the people of one's own moiety and those from the other one will all be merged in the term paobe (first person plural inclusive) when contrasting the Bororo to civilized people or some other Indian tribe.

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In addition to genealogically specified kin-types, any Bororo, if necessary, may be designated by a kinship term:

imana ("a man's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

ivuri ("a woman's older brother"): Any man of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iyedaga ("grandfather"): Any imana or ivuri who is knowledgeable or quite old.

ituye ("older sister"): Any woman of the same moiety who is older than Ego.

iviye ("younger sister"): Any person of the same moiety who is younger than Ego.

iyogwa ("father"): Any man of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any man, regardless of his age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

imarugo ("grandmother"): Any woman of the opposite moiety who is older than Ego. Also any woman, regardless of her age, who belongs to Ego's father's clan.

itonaregedu ("child"): Any person of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego and does not belong

*601 to Ego's father's clan.

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iyagedu ("grandson"): Any man of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any man of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

irago ("granddaughter"): Any woman of the same moiety who is younger than Ego (male) and calls Ego iyedaga. Any woman of the opposite moiety who is younger than Ego (female) and does not belong to Ego's father's clan.

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A further extragenealogical extension of kinship terms includes all the world. All plants, animals, rivers, mountains, stars, and even spirits are conceived as connected to a particular clan or subclan. How these connections became established differs from case to case. Some animals were already part of a certain clan in mythical times when there was not yet a difference between animals and people. Some other items were seen for the first time by a member of a specific clan. For many others the Bororo do not know to whom they belong. However they have no doubt that everything belongs to somebody, and if they do not know it, it is because today the knowledge of the people is limited. Any such item, if connected with one's own clan, or, by extension, with any clan of one's moiety, will be considered the person's grandfather or grandmother. If it is connected with one's father's clan, or, by extension, with any clan of the opposite moiety,

*601 it will be considered the person's father or grandmother. 82 If a Bororo killed a bird and brought it into the village, it is quite common to hear another Bororo jokingly tell the hunter: "Alas! You killed my poor little grandfather" (Aru! Ichare are iyedaga pega-rogu bitto).

*601 768 616

Change of Kinship Terms on the Occasion of Death

Another important transfer of terms is connected with funeral ceremonies. On this occasion, the terms that are normally used only for people of one's own moiety are extended to the people of the other moiety. Every person who dies must have a living mother who will continue to take care of him, cooking for him the food for the festive "meal of the spirits" which takes place in the plaza of the village. 765 If the true mother is already dead, some other woman of her lineage will take her place and the new mother will be called "mother" by all the people who slash themselves to express their sorrow, without regard to whether they are from one or the other moiety. The husband of this woman will be called "father." Thus somebody may acquire a "mother" of the other moiety and a "father" who was a "brother" before that. The new terms are used both referentially and vocatively and the previous designations are dropped. Every person who dies should also have his living representative chosen from the male members of the opposite moiety. This man will take the place of the dead person within the lineage, and he will be addressed by the kinsmen of the dead person by the same term they used for the dead. Necessary adjustments are made for

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.

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616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601
533
765
195 A different set of terms, which are considered more poetic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:

*601	ikimamomo	is substituted for			iyedaga
533	ikimado	"	"	"	imarugo
765 195	itare	"	"	"	iyogwa and itoredu
	itaredo	"	"	"	imuga and itoreduje
	imana aredu	"	"	"	ituye
	inokori	"	"	"	iviye imedu
	inokorodo	"	"	"	iviye aredu
	ikiwainogo	"	"	"	ivagedu
	ikiwainogorodo"		"	"	irago

iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore (all in plural) are substituted for any or all dead relatives as a group.

We see again, as was the case in the preceding paragraph, that husband and father and wife and mother are classified together. The terms ivuri and imana remain unchanged when used in songs or crying, while there is confusion on how itonaregedu should be called. Some informants (women) say that they should be called in the same way younger siblings are (inokori or inokorodo), but others (also women) maintain that they should be called as older siblings are (ivuri, imana, imana aredu). Both of these assertions are denied by male informants who maintain that one's children should be classified under the general terms used for any dead person (iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore.)

Use of Kin Terms in Joking

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One of the most frequent ways of joking among the Bororo is to use kin terms for unrelated persons, pretending that they are related. Most of the time in doing so the speaker implies that between him and the addressee there exists the kind of social relationship that is usually connoted by the [601] relevant kinship term. For example, inodowu, one's sister's husband, is not supposed to refuse any request of his brothers'in-law. Therefore, sometimes a Bororo asking for an object will say, "Inodowu, give me that ...." The other, most of the times will answer, "I am not your sister's husband (akodowu). You do not have either an older sister (atuye), nor a younger one (aviye) that I could marry." But if the man who made the request is a powerful man things can go differently. There is a story about a strong man who went from one village to another calling everybody on his way inodowu. However, nobody objected to being called in this way because nobody dared--they were much too afraid of him.

At some other times the Bororo use kinship terms in an ironical or mocking sense. Parents will call a man flirting with their daughter ivagedu ("son-in-law"). A woman will address her brother's sweetheart as irago ("daughter-in-law"), and a man will address his sister's suitor as inodowu ("brother-in-law"). The women, speaking among themselves, will refer to the most successful lover of the village as chedoredu --our husband.

*601 To a man who is making love to a woman in mourning his
522 companions will say: "Stay away from her, she is our "little
[765] mother," our "poor-little mother." After the hunt, it is a
[224] duty of the "ceremonial father" to carry the game to his wife ("the mother") who has to cook it for the "meal of the spirits." If, for some reason, the "father" did not join the hunt, this will provoke many jokes and comments from the other hunters. They will say, "Our father did not come, but we have here another 'our father' who will carry the meat," alluding to the sexual relations between this other man and "the mother." If the woman had many affairs in the past, which is quite usual among the Bororo, each man in his turn will deny being the most qualified "father" pointing to somebody else as the one who should carry the meat.

Conclusion

*601 When one arrives in the field he is immediately con-
114 fronted both with a complicated set of relations and with different systems crosscutting each other. At this point all ideas about an ordered conceptual universe appear to be nonsense. It seemed to me that the Bororo were also confused, but ignored the contradictions and pretended that things were clear and simple. I tried to construct full genealogies but
551 did not succeed. For one the Bororo avoid uttering the names of dead people, and if persuaded to produce them, another difficulty arises. Everyone at birth receives several names and during his life he acquires many new ones. A good hunter about forty-five years old had fifty different names. Some

55 people know a person by one name, some by another, depending
on which name he was using at the time they had the closest
842 contact with each other. Still another problem was the fact
that the Bororo recognize as "fathers" all the men who had
sexual relations with Ego's mother at the time of conception
[115] and during pregnancy. Two of my informants had been sons of
[601] the village's "wanton" or "female associate" (Crocker 1969b)
and they had only two classes of relatives in the opposite
moiety, i.e., fathers and father's sisters (grandmothers).
*601 Only slowly with greater knowledge of the context of each
114 particular instance, did I start to see some pattern in the
124 apparent confusion. The native criteria have been of help
[121] for some of the semantic rules employed in the analysis of
[829] the referential systems, but there is some variation in how
people explain extensions of terms. Many people had their
own theories, but none of these theories worked through the
whole system. One woman, when asked in abstract about the
classification of particular kin types, answered in terms of
the moiety theory. She would count the connecting links,
placing them with her finger in imaginary spaces of her own
and the opposite moiety. Once the kin type was placed, she
would say, "If he (she) is older than myself, then I will
call him (her) ... so and so." Her system could not work in
all cases, and she did not even call her own actual relatives
according to it.

Another man had a different theory. According to him all the relatives traced through mother were called by the

X601 114 124 same term that she used for them, all those traced through father were divided in two groups according to sex. The informent again overgeneralized some particular rules. Mother and child had different terms for mother's father (*iyogwa* and *iyedaga* respectively) except in the system of address where he was called *iyogwa* by both. Female Ego and her mother will call mother's brother's daughter and son by the same terms (*irago* and *iyagedu*), but male Ego will call them *itonaregedu*. Of the terms traced through father, father's father and father's father's brother did not fit into my informant's theory, they were called *iyedaga* instead of *iyogwa*.

Another informant used to construct sets of terms based on relative age, and to attribute these sets to various genealogical positions. The longest set he proposed was the following:

mother's sister younger than Ego: *iviye*
mother's sister younger than mother: *ituye*
mother's sister older than mother: *imuga*
mother's sister much older than mother: *imarugo*

This set also does not predict classification without error. *Ituye* in addition to being younger than mother should also be older than Ego. Only the mother's sister who assumes all the mother's responsibilities in relation to Ego will be called *imuga*. She can be older or younger than Ego's own mother. Finally, the only mother's sister who will be called *imarugo* is the one who proposed Ego's name, regardless of her age.

The Bororo made all these errors in theoretically dis-

*601 cussing how some kin-types should be designated, or the pro-
114 cedure of finding out how to designate it. In practice they
124 made no mistakes, and they would explain any unusual applications of terms by some other system connected with death, naming, and so on. The native theories about how the system works have been of great help in the analysis of the Bororo referential system presented above, but I cannot say that the analysis is "psychologically valid."

Chapter VI

BIRTH AND MARRIAGE

121 In discussing the sociology of kinship, a major problem is to determine the order in which the material should be presented. Relations within the family, the developmental cycle, the different social groups, marriage, residence—all of these, and still other subjects, can be meaningfully understood only in the light they throw on each other. To achieve this it would be necessary to make some kind of simultaneous total presentation. The requirements imposed by narrative preclude this. One is forced to choose, and to proceed through one door when many are open, always with doubt and a feeling that another way might have been more profitable. One tries to be as little repetitive as possible, yet one has to go back to the starting point over and over again in an effort to preserve some quality of unity.
128 One is confronted with still another pair of choices: whether to start with the general conceptual system and then pass to its realizations, or whether to start with particular social facts and to slowly construct out of them a picture of the whole. I will attempt to proceed in the latter manner, not because I think it is in any way better than the other, but I hope it will convey some of the processes that the ethnographer goes through in trying to make sense out of data.

The first matter to be discussed is the Bororo point of

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially
recognized union of man and woman.

844 We may begin by noting some common features in the
585 Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these
may be very important events in the life of one individual
or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much
excitement going on in the families involved, but these two
changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new
[782] born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Compar-
[533] ative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever
there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the
ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside
[533] of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only
[273] exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian
[177] songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and mar-
riage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked,
no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes
of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz.,
[553] naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more
[773] exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is
not considered a member of the society until it gets its name,
and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance
arrangement which was established in mythical time by other
cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods,
rather than by the exchange of women and men.

Birth

842 A child may have many fathers. Any man who has had sexual relations with the child's mother before or during pregnancy is considered one of the genitors, and is designated a "father" of the child. Both father (or fathers) and mother are equally responsible for the physical and mental characteristics of the child. Often the Bororo make comments about children saying that they are pretty or ugly, good or bad, some taking after their father, some after their mother. Different characteristics may have been taken from different fathers. As the chief of the village where I worked once told me: "I had two fathers, from the first I received my stature, and that is why I am so short. From my second father I received my heart." His second father had been a big chief and a knowledgeable man from whom he had learned the traditions and songs of the tribe. For the Bororo there is no such thing as a fatherless child. Everyone has a father, and the more fathers one has the better it
[115] is for him. The knowledge of my informant was great because, as the Bororo explained to me, he was the son of the village wanton. Therefore all his fathers, all the men from the op-
593 posite moiety, taught him songs and stories. It is the duty
*601 of the child's mother to inform the boy or the girl when grown up enough to understand who his biological fathers are, and to teach him the kinship terms he should use for them and for their brothers, mothers and sisters.

000 Even now the ideal marriage is one contracted between a

Even now
the ideal marriage is one contracted between a
582 grown man and a small girl. He contributes to the economy
586 of the house, makes ornaments for his young wife, defends
her from sexual assaults by other men, and, what is most im-
portant, he is the one responsible for the physical develop-
586 ment of the girl. The Bororo believe that the growth of the
831 breasts is the result of the man's handling the sexual organs
833 of his young wife. A good husband will try to enlarge the
opening of the hymen with his fingers so that the first in-
tercourse will be less painful, or, if he was particularly
831 good and patient, without any pain whatsoever. Only then,
833 after defloration, can the first menstruation be expected at
841 the next moon. Supposedly there also exists a direct rela-
tionship between the quantity of a man's sperm and the fre-
quency of menstruation of the woman he is having intercourse
with. The attentive husband will not drink those juices
which are supposed to increase the quantity of semen to spare
785 his wife the trouble of menstruating twice in a moon. Both
515 wife and husband fast while she is menstruating; they also
753 avoid drinking and taking baths. A girl who is having sexual
relations with several men will notify all of them when she
menstruates so that they may observe these rules, since
otherwise they can become sick.

844 The night before childbirth, the pregnant woman and her
828 husband--and her lovers, if she has lovers--try not to sleep
in order to avoid bad dreams. When the pain starts, the
woman, with the assistance of her mother and her husband's
mother or sister, goes into the woods where the child should

844 be born. When the child is born, and if the woman has not
828 complained of having had bad dreams, the husband's mother
will go back to the village and ask her son if he had bad
dreams. If he did not (nor did any of the woman's lovers),
she will cut the umbilical cord and bring the newborn child
847 846 into the village. But if he had bad dreams, she will suffocate the child and bury it there in the woods without any
593 ceremony. The difference between the primary father (the
846 woman's husband) and the secondary fathers (the woman's
lovers) is also shown by the different extent to which certain
224 duties are carried out by them after the child is born. After
226 the birth, the woman's husband and her lovers do not go hunt-
261 276 ing or fishing, and neither they nor the new mother eat,
515 drink, smoke, or bathe. In addition, a woman's husband (but
593 not her lovers) provokes hemorrhage in himself by introducing
827 846 a fine stick into his mouth as far as he can so that the
"child's blood" which remained in him will slowly go up from
the root of the penis into the stomach, and chest, and finally go out through the mouth. This act is repeated many times
until the blood is no longer dark and dense, but bright and
fluid. He then wraps the lump of coagulated blood in a big
leaf and brings it home as proof of his responsibility.
After several days, he and his wife start to eat again, but
824 only very little. The food is cooked by the wife's mother
252 or sister because the wife is not supposed to cook until she
593 stops bleeding. After this the wife changes the black loin
846 cloth she has been wearing since the child's birth, for a
291 292 white one just as she does when she is menstruating.

593 white one just as she does when she is menstruating. Neither
846 parent, however, is supposed to have sexual intercourse
834 (again, in practice, the woman's lovers do not conform to
854 this precept) until the child, if it is a male, starts to
856 speak and play with bow and arrows, or with dolls and small
baskets if female. Otherwise the child will get weaker and
weaker and eventually die. Only when this period of continence
302 is over is the time of birth officially ended. The
husband will celebrate this occasion by painting and adorning
his wife and child.

842 Many of the ideas and customs described above attest to
the native theory of procreation. Though the Bororo are a
matrilineal people they posit the necessity of a genitor for
the procreation of a child. The importance ascribed to both
the father's and the mother's dreams, to the couvade, and to
the role of the father's female consanguineals during childbirth
are all expressions of the significance that the Bororo
*601 attribute to both parents. This emphasis on bilaterality is
reflected in the fact that both maternal and paternal half-siblings
are linguistically recognized as full-siblings.

842 Both the Bororo idea that one can have many fathers but
593 only one mother and the obligation for a man to provide for
855 his stepchildren, while a motherless child is taken care of
by his mother's sisters rather than by his stepmother, may
be correlated with the step-kin rule which excludes a stepmother
from the category of genealogically connected relatives.
Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother

Finally, the fact that one can have only one mother
842 is terminologically expressed by the category _imuga_ ("mother"),
*601 of which the only member is one's own mother.

Marriage

582 Ideally, marriage should be contracted with some of the
lineages from the opposite moiety which are in _yorubodare_
[178] relationship ("alliance") to one's own lineage. Though, because
of depopulation, this is rarely the case today, the
Bororo are still proud when they can say: _I mugu paga
karegure, itoreduje apore imugure, ikoge, ivire, tadare
imugure_ which can be translated, "I do not live in this place
(his wife's house) just by chance. I stay with my wife, I
104 stay among my spouses." It is difficult to render into English
the Bororo _paga_ which I translated "by chance." (The
Brazilians have the adverb "a toa" that renders it better.
This adverb is used very much by the Bororo when they speak
Portuguese.) The sentence means that the man is married according
582 to tradition. In saying "I stay with my wife," the
Bororo means to say, "I stay with a woman who, by prescription,
should be my wife." Every story which describes the
establishment of special relationship between two clans by
virtue of some gift has the same conclusion "... and so he
made them his _yorubodare_ ("allié"), his husbands, and his
wives" (_Oinore ure uyorubodaredo, ukogedo, uviredo apo_).

585 A marriage ceremony is very simple. The mother of the
girl brings food to the house of the boy, and, if he accepts
the offer, he will eat the food (Colbacchini and Albisetti

585 304 224 1942: 39). If a child marriage is to be contracted, the girl's family will ask her future husband, instead of her brother, to pierce her ear lobes. A more elaborate ceremony is performed when the girl is given as a wife to the hunter who has killed a jaguar for some of her dead brothers. In this case, however, she is only one of the gifts that are given to him in exchange for the jaguar skin. The other gifts, bow and arrows and poari (a musical instrument) are obligatory. Of particular interest for us is the speech that one of the girl's brothers makes when he delivers her to the hunter. He says:

585 539

> "This is your wife, stay with her. This is the place for your bow, for your arrow. Here is the place for you to eat nokodu, noa, noidoya, the place for you to eat motore and honey. Here your ruwobo, your aria, your pori (different kinds of containers) are waiting for your fish, for your game. Here you will eat nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu. You should look after this girl, take care of her, so that she will make kodo as your mat, beto as your blanket. She will make the basket where your arrows will stay. She will wash you and give you to drink. She will go to meet you when you come back from fishing or from the hunt, when you come back from the woods or the hills. You do not have a mother, older sister, or younger sister anymore. This girl will be your mother, your older sister, your younger sister. You should treat her with care. Do not scare her when she goes to get water, when she goes to get firewood. Do not scare her when she is eating fish or when she is eating meat. You should defend her from other bad women, from the things she is afraid of. Do not scare her. You will be her mother, her father, her brother, and she will love you with all her heart."[1]

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[1] Akoredujereo, awudo apore amugure, atugo pare, awoiga pare, ake nokodu, noa, noidoya jetareo, ake motore jetareo, ake miyawoe gigodugedu jetareo. Woere aruwobo, akaria, apori jeture ako karo togi, ako barogo togi. Woere a mode nokodu, noa, noidoya-metotadawu kowuje, woe. Awudojire aeture

593 It is considered highly improper behavior to go against
578 one's cross-siblings. Today, the Bororo frequently quarrel
with their spouses when they are drunk, and infidelities,
divorces, and remarriages are common. But in the resulting
fights it is always the brothers and sisters who stand
593 against their respective spouses. There is no obligatory
835 levirate among the Bororo and they condemn any sexual rela-
522 tion with the brother's wife, although jokes between the two
are allowed and expected. Brothers are supposed to make a
common front against outsiders, and the sexual involvement
of a man with his brother's wife would put a handicap on
578 this. Most of the quarrels among the Bororo concern sexual
affairs. A man who is having sexual relations with his
593
835 brother's wife, but together with the brother goes against
another man who is also having an affair with the same woman,
could be asked by this last man: "Why are you going against
me? You too have been sleeping with your brother's wife."
The Bororo say that this would be shameful for both brothers.

587 On the other hand, a man who is very sick may call one
593 of his unmarried brothers and tell him that he is going to

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585 akaiwore, uwo kodo towuje akudawuje, uwo beto towuje akudawuje,
539 uwo atugo rakoja baku tovuje, uwo akaimo, uwo akududo. Awudo
bogaire apoga mode akodadai akaregodui karo jao, barogo jao
piji du tabo, akaregodui tori, itura piji du tabo. Kaje jawo
karega aerudu kare ache, atuye makaguragai t akai duji.
Awudore ache modema, aviye modema. Iyeripo tabo arore ji,
akaba pagududo tudui poboto duji, tudui jerigi kae duji.
Akaba pagududo tui ako karo kodu, ako barogo kodu ko duji.
Jetuwo t akodoi tujeba areduji, tuyogudugodure ji boeji.
Akaba pagududo, uchewo aki, uwowo aki, uyedagawo aki, uvuriwo
aki, paduwo akujiyagi, jetuwo akodoi pudabo.

587 die soon and he wants him (the brother) to have his wife; he
593 should take care of her as he himself did, and look after his
children too so nobody will take the food from their mouths. After that the brother will go to fish and hunt for the sick man, and, when the latter dies and all his funeral ceremonies are over, the brother will take his place as the husband. The Bororo find this arrangement very wise. The family is provided with food during the sickness of the man, and after his death the woman will soon have another man so she can quietly remain in her house. She will not have to spend the time catching other men around the village and neglecting her children.

562 For the women things go differently. A good wife is
593 supposed to tolerate her husband having sexual relations with
837 her unmarried sister or with her daughter from a previous
marriage. If a woman likes her sister's husband or her mother's husband, both of them, i.e., the two sisters or the
[614] mother and the daughter, can become that man's wife. Women,
however, are not supposed to show, and in fact do not show, the same tolerance if the husband has an affair with a woman
[578] belonging to another clan. When this happens, it is consid-
ered a direct offense to the wife's physical appearance, her
593 ability in making love, and her cooking. It is also better
837 for the man to stay away from the married sisters of his wife.
602 Their husbands are the people with whom he stays in contin-
835 uous contact. They live in the same house, they are his
companions in fishing and hunting, and the peace of the fam-

593
837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
835
602 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
587
606 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the
family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they
try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger
sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see
his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for
the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him
[585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and
cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and
offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but
[431] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in
food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his
moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual
partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage,
582
593 there are few things that I would like to point out. The
formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a
girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the
ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-
child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between
cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence re-
quires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic
contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan,
multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider
the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[596] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After
marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal
extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a
member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by
virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular
names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing
of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may
be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and
others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a
female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is
emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent;
where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo
type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship
system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of
her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of
her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers"
are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and
their wives.

000 their wives.

I am not going to make a summary of this short chapter,
but I would like to say something about Bororo views on mar-
582 riage and procreation. The first is conceptualized from a
593 normative or ideal point of view, which conforms but poorly
to actual behavior. Although one should marry members of
[835] specific lineages, this is rarely done. A man should not
have a love affair with his brother's wife, but he often
[837] does. The wife should tolerate her husband's sexual rela-
842 tions with her sisters, but she usually does not. The native
theories of procreation, on the other hand, express realistic
recognition of actual events. If one's mother had inter-
course with three men, all of them are the child's father.
[593] It is a good thing to have many fathers, since one can profit
by it. Both views, the idealistic concerning marriage and
the realistic concerning procreation, are recognized as
181 legitimate and are taken into account. This is representa-
tive of one of the most outstanding Bororo attitudes: let
us imagine that things are perfect, but let us get used to
living with imperfections.

Chapter VII

NAMING AND INITIATION

Naming

844 Birth and marriage have been regarded as private af-
585 fairs: in one the bilateral contribution required for the
creation of a new being is recognized; in the other the con-
tinuation of traditional symmetrical alliances is reaf-
553 firmed. Naming and initiation are socially important rites
881 of bilateral acceptance into society. In the first instance,
one is received into one's own matrilineage; in the second,
special relationships are established with one's father's
matrilineage. These, however, are not the only dimensions
[128] of the two rites. There are many others, some of which will
be discussed in later chapters; here we will limit ourselves
to these two.

553 According to custom, the namegiver must be one of the
[613] child's classificatory brothers from its own lineage. The
change which occurs in kinship terminology between namegiver
553 and namereceiver has been mentioned before. The ceremony
562 for a male child is an elaborate one; only a brief outline
of it will be given here. When the child is a girl the
ceremony is much simpler.

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

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[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names—the names of the clans—and clanic names—personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

[553] gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero
[302] who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the
[301] Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits
[535] in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the
[534] child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village
plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout
[302] the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to
[301] paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he
[237] asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes
Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him
[533] handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the
songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the
other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the
singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so
that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time.
[301] At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while
[302] his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again
[533] represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the
[304] child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and
pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

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[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[534] [2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

553 Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father
(the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the
[533] names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with
[201] more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for
[431] the child as compensation (*mori*) for piercing his lip. While
all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send
gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the cere-
mony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in
holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers
in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both
mother and father are announced to the community. Also
significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the cere-
[773] mony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo,
who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo
and who invented many ornaments and started many customs,
must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member
of the society.

[593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (*itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu*). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (*ema nure ema rugadu*). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

553 this statement, but if we look at the lineage structure and ideology, things become clearer. For example: Kaigu was the founder of one lineage in the clan of Bokodori Echerae. He had many names, but the one used most often was Kaigu. Theoretically he should have transmitted five or six of his clanic names to his nephew, the first born son of his eldest sister (utuye boetojiwudo onaregedu imedu boetojiwu: lit., "his older sister/ the first born one/ her child/ the first born one"). When Kaigu became old he left it to his nephew to perform most of the ceremonial duties, and when he died his nephew became the head of the lineage. He inherited all the rights, the duties, the place of the house in the village, and the names of the dead Kaigu. Then he is Kaigu, 827 he has a nephew, and the story repeats itself. Any living Bororo is considered to be not only the descendant of a long line of ancestors but also identical to all of them. When I wondered about some contradictory deeds ascribed to the great chief Baitogogo in the myths, my informant explained to me that there were many Baitogogo: one did this, the other did that. On another day, when I did not understand the name of a particular hero mentioned in the myth, he pointed at a man passing by and said, "He did it!" For the passerby had the same name as the hero. Thus conceptually the Bororo consider themselves equivalent to their matrilineal ancestors.

553 Today, as the Bororo population is dying out, occasion-
178 ally a child does not have any classificatory brother from

553 his own lineage, and not even from his own clan, who can give
178 him a name. So the child receives his name from some other
[761] man of the same moiety, or even of the other moiety. The
latter occurs very seldom, however, because the Bororo
think that if a man gives a name to a child of the opposite
moiety, that child will soon die. When the namegiver does
not belong to the same clan and lineage as that of the
child, the majority of the names given should be taken from
the stock of names of the child's own clan and lineage, but
one or two names ought to be taken from those belonging to
*[601] the namegiver's own clan and lineage. The namegiver will,
[613] as usual, be called iyedaga, but the child will not usually
have any right to the prerogatives of the namegiver's lineage
unless the lineage becomes extinct. If this is the case,
members of other lineages more closely related to the extinct
one may still have precedence over the namereceiver.

Initiation

881 At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that
initiation is the rite by which one has established a special relationship with his father's matrilineage. That
613 statement is not entirely correct. One's own lineage stands
traditionally in special relationship to a certain number of
lineages from the opposite moiety. They mutually exchange
women and ceremonial performances. Ideally one's father
582 should have been a member of one of them. Theoretically,
Ego (male) should also marry into one of those lineages, and
his son will be a member of one of them. Discussing marriage

582 among the Bororo, we saw that "husbands" and "wives" are theoretically members of those lineages, even though a per-613 son might have actually married elsewhere. Now, one's 881 yorubodare, initiator (see page 64), should be also chosen [827] from the members of those lineages. If we keep in mind the Bororo statement that they are the same persons as their ancestors, and that those ancestors were also husbands and wives, fathers and sons of the members of corresponding lineages in the opposite moiety, we can more easily understand another statement the Bororo make in reference to the lineages of preferential mutual exchange: "They are my yorubodare, my husbands and my wives, my fathers and my children."

881 [585] While marriage is regarded as a private reenactment of mythical ties, initiation is the public reenactment of the same ties. Both institutions require the choice of one tie from among several possible, but while marriage can be and often is dissolved, the yorubodare relationship lasts throughout life.

The initiation ceremony itself is of such complexity and is comprised of so many symbolic acts that a full anal-[114] ysis cannot be given here. A good description of the ceremony can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo, Volume I, [178] pages 627-642. The Bororo of Pobojari and those of the villages that existed in the same area until recently abandoned [563] it a long time ago. The last time the Bororo performed this ceremony was about thirty years ago in the village of Tori

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
[563] at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
[826] house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qualified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are going to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
[764] dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
[291] must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
[773] Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposition of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
[533] it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
[301] boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
[302]
[776]

881 ments, and for the first time he will see Aije, the spirits
[301] representing mythical animals who will maltreat him (the
[302] Bororo designate as Aije the bull-roarers and the men who
[776] whirl them). After the ceremony the boy will leave his maternal home and move into the men's house, or at least sleep there.

[593] It is the duty of the boy's father to prepare the penis sheaths. He gives them to the boy's older brother, who in
[532] turn gives them to the initiator. The initiator then di-
[291] vides them among his own brothers, who paint them with different red motifs, some geometrical and some in shapes of animals, in the hope that the boy will become a good hunter.
[301] After the imposition of the penis sheath, the initiator makes ornaments for the boy. Simpler ones are made by his
[431] brothers. The boy's mother and the initiator's wife occasionally exchange food. The initiator takes the food he receives into the men's house and shares it with his (the
[302] initiator's) brothers. Before the ceremony it is the duty of the initiator's sisters to remove from the boy's face all hair, including eyelashes and eyebrows. We see that all these tasks are not restricted to the initiator but extended to his lineage: the boy acquires a special relationship not only with one man, but with the whole lineage. This fact is
881 reflected in the change of terms of address. After the im-
*601 position of the ba the boy will not address the members of his initiator's lineage as "fathers" and "grandmothers," as he did before, but as iyorubodare. And since this term is

881 reciprocal, he will be called *iyorubodare* by them. The only
*601 exception occurs if the initiator is a brother of the boy's
true father; then the boy will call his father's mother
imarugo, grandmother.

881 When delivering the boy to the initiator, the boy's
539 brother says, "This is your wife (*akoreduje*); together with
him you will cut *marido*; together with him you will go to
get the palm leaves in the forest; with him you will clean
the village plaza and *Aije muga*; you will make a road for
mano; with him you will open a path through the bushes, in
front of the others carrying their bows and nets; with him
824 you will kill game and fish."[1] (*Marido* is the plant the
Bororo use in making a big wheel, also called *marido*, with
which they dance during a ceremony of the same name. The
palm leaves mentioned are those which the Bororo men use to
make a fence around the dancing ground during certain cere-
796 monies forbidden to women. *Aije muga* is the place where the
Aije, the bull-roarers, are hidden, where many of the cere-
monies have their starting point, and where the actors in
these ceremonies are adorned and furnished with the necessary
824 paraphernalia. *Mano* is another wheel of palm leaves that
the Bororo carry in a race on a long road leading to the
village.

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[1] "Akoredujereo, awu apore are mano kora ta, awu apore are keo kora ta, awu apore ature bai kae, awu apore ature kaidaga kae, awu apore are bororo akudo, awu apore Aije muga akudo. Awu apore are mano koda to, awu apore are awure jodo ipo, iwora paru keje, tuge, boiga, buke, boari otodai."

461 village. To clean the path in front of hunters or fisher-
224 men is a very unselfish job because the man who does it re-
226
264 mains without game and will depend for food on the good will
of the others.)

881 The first words of the speech, "This is your wife,"
593 also start the speech of the brother of a girl when she is
given as compensation (mori) to the hunter who killed a
jaguar for her dead brother. In the case of initiation the
words do not have sexual implications but merely point out
the structural similarity of the two actions. Just as a
wife is given to her husband, who will then continue to care
for her, provide food for her, and teach her, the boy is
given to his initiator. The continuous companionship antici-
pated between the two yorubodare is parallel to that between
husband and wife. When the Bororo were asked to explain
this point, they repeated that the boy is the initiator's
wife, just as the initiator is the boy's husband, his son,
and his father—his yorubodare. The meaning is more appar-
ent in other variants of the speech which do not start with
akoredujereo but with aerubodareo, "this is your yorubodare;"
or when akoredureo, "this is your husband," is occasionally
881 added. The rest of the speech refers to the new role the
868 initiator will assume toward the boy. Until the rite, the
boy's father was responsible for his education. The father
showed him how to use bow and arrows, taught him how to make
ornaments, and told him the names of different plants and
animals. Now the initiator will take the father's place and

881 complete the boy's education. They will be together all the
868 time, and the boy, through observation and instruction, will
learn the tasks required of an adult Bororo man.

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband,
her daughters and their husbands, and all their unmarried
[881] children. After initiation the sons move into the
[422] men's house, but all their belongings remain in their mother's
[264] house, and their food continues to be prepared in their
[586] natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their
[591] mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man
marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of
the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind,
596 in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied
by several extended families, each family having its own
fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide
whether they will cook together or separately. When they
cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman
[264] cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The
families living in one house do not eat together, but the
women always exchange some of the food they have prepared.
596 They also help each other care for the children. If a woman
855 is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take
the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to
collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family,
he can move his family to another village. This movement of
the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people
but does not affect the structure of the new group, which
will be very much like the one left behind. The man will
live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom oc-
cur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women,
the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the
help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her
son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing.
The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that
her children will be looked after when she goes into the
woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes
that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she re-
ceived from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for
a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the ex-
traction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction
of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing
trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

593 success from the economic point of view, but what is more
484 important seems to be the pleasure that the couple derive
from being alone, away from their families, and free from
continuous observation of the rules of public conduct.

593 There are advantages in having brothers and sisters:
[578] the brothers will be a support during quarrels, and the sis-
[431] ters will send their siblings gifts of food, part of what
they collect in the woods, or pieces of the game their hus-
[601] bands kill. A man will receive food from his brother's wife
if he does not have any closer relative. On the other hand,
a man finds some disadvantages in having many brothers: the
competition in asserting oneself in ceremonies is much
stronger, especially if the knowledge and ability of the
brothers is comparable. There will be a lot of tension and
envy among ambitious brothers in competing for the honor of
being called on as a performer by the yorubodare lineage
593 from the other moiety. A wife who has many brothers can
607 also be a handicap. One will have to hunt and fish not only
for the wife's mother and father, but he will have to send
part of the food to her brothers too. They may frequently
come to ask for ornaments and artifacts, for hunting and
fishing tools, all of which the husband is supposed to give
to his brothers-in-law without showing any sign of dissatisfaction. He cannot even ask for recompence, mori, as he
would do with anybody else, because, as the Bororo say, "he
is living with his compensation" (mori tabo rugaduye tumugure
oino kodi)—with the sister that they have given him in marriage.

855 Bororo fathers and mothers are very affectionate and
868 patient with their children. Both parents teach the child
how to talk, and when the child grows up and starts asking
questions, they try to explain everything they are asked.
603 The method of education is by advice and persuasion. In
868 the village where I worked, a three-year-old girl once was
crying and screaming loudly at her grandmother. The women
seemed not to pay too much attention to her behavior and
kept talking gently to her, saying that she should not be
angry with her grandparents because they were not maltreat-her;
they were teaching her so she would know how to do
things and would behave correctly; that when she grew up
she would go to collect *ako* (one kind of nut) and pick *ari*,
boko, and *jatugo* (fruits of the forest); that for these
855 reasons they were talking to her. Sometimes, however, the
861 Bororo make the children obey by threatening that some animals,
owls or wolves, will come and eat their sexual organs.
Very seldom is a child beaten; when it happens, it is only
for special transgressions. Only once did I see a mother
strike her daughter with a stick. She had found the child
eating clay, and the child had been previously warned several
times not to do it. The children are never forced to
do something they do not want to do. A mother can ask her
young daughter to go to the spring to get some water, but
if the girl says *itaidu kare*—"I do not want to do it"—the
mother will take the container and go to the spring herself.

868 At three or four years of age a girl will start to play
562 with small baskets, straw trays, and fans that her mother

868 makes for her. A boy will play with calabashes and with
562 small bows and arrows made for him by his father. As they grow up girls and boys are educated by their mothers and fathers, respectively, in the tasks that they will perform as
868 adults. The fact that the principal educator of a boy is
[622] his father has far-reaching consequences. Since the Bororo headman, boe eimejera, should be a good hunter, a good fisherman, a good craftsman, and above all an intellectual with great knowledge of tribal traditions, myths, and songs, and since all skills and knowledge are acquired from one's fathers and initiators, the office of headman is not transmitted matrilineally but goes from father to son. One may also become knowledgeable without having a knowledgeable father. He may receive the desired instruction from some other man, but only if he pays the man, i.e., if he gives presents of food in exchange for information. From his matrilineage, from his classificatory brothers, and from his namegiver (if he is one of his brothers) a man will inherit the right to ceremonial performances, names, and songs; but he will not be taught how to perform the ceremonies or how to sing the songs unless he pays his instructors. I quote here the words of a headman, which convey the Bororo thoughts about education:

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> If your father is a knowledgeable man, if he is a chief of the Bororo, he will want you to be like him, to be as knowledgeable as he is. He will die but you will be here in his place, you will be the chief of the Bororo in his place. With this in mind he instructed you in all these things.
>
> But suppose you do not listen to your father's

868 words. He wants to teach you but you do not care and as a consequence you remain ignorant. The people 829 will say, "It may be that his father was ignorant, and because of this he does not know anything." I 593 know things and thus the people do not gossip about my father. People say about me, "With him is his father's knowledge and reason."

Another example. The people do not quarrel with your father or with your mother, nor do they quarrel with you; they will say, "Yes, he is the true child of his parents, he is just like they are." But if you fight and quarrel with people, they will say: "He is not the child of his parents; they are different."

However, if your father does not know things, you will kill some animal, you will catch some fish, and you will give them to someone who knows things, and he will teach you. The people will then say, "The father is no good, and yet his son speaks so well. He is not stingy with meat and fish and feathers. He is knowledgeable, because he is not stingy. So after having been an orphan, he is not an orphan anymore."[1]

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[1] Ao yoruduwa rakã-guragare, boe eimejerare aoche. Jorudu iwa rakã-guragare toro. Du tabore ichare ure awodudo. Kodire aidure awo nono turyeore. Aerudu iwawo tuyorudu iwa rakã-guraga du uryeore. Rudumi tu vi mode ma aki akagurure tumugato kodi. Akiwo boe eimejerare aki tumugato. Kodire ure aerudu iwedo tumearudae jamẽdu boeji. Oino.

Mare aki amearu toru kare ao boe eimejera bataruji. Aidure aerudu iwado, mare amearu toru kare bataruji. Kodire ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Kodire boe egore: 'ao rabora yoruduwa bokware kodiba ichare aerudu iwa bokware. Oino. Imire paga karega iyorudu iware oino. Kodire boe emago kare toro iyogwaji. Boe egore apore uwo jorudae, mearudae meture.

Iya pugeje. Boe kori kare aoji, acheji. Du boe kori kare ai, arugodu kare, ako ki kare. Du boe ego mode: 'u, onaregedu rugadu rabode. Kodire ichare ure nono tuje, tuwo uryeore. Iya keje ao pega kare, ache pega kare, akire ichare apegare. Boe kori barikare ai, arugodu kigodure, ako ki kigodure boei. Ao, ache onaregedu karega ure aki kodi. Aore tuginoi.

Mare ao yorudu iwa bokwa iya boeji, mare nonore ure. Kodire a mode iya karo, iya barogo a mode bito. Du a mode iya rogu maku t jorudu iwarewu mearudu iwarewu ai. Du tabore ichare u mode aerudu iwado. Du tabore boe ego mode: 'Uwo pega, jorudu iwa bokwa kodi karega, akore oino. Mare jetori kare t iya ture bitowu karo, barogo, nabure kuido ikodo aro

597 When a child loses his parents, he is not left alone. Usually one of his mother's true or classificatory sisters or his father's true mother or sister will take care of him.
737 Old or disabled persons also can count on a large range of
736 relatives for some help and food. In Pobojari there was a blind man living in the men's house. When the "meal of the spirits" was held, his pots and pans were filled up so that he would have enough food for the next day. Normally eight women of the village saw to it that he was not without food. The man was a classificatory brother to three of the women. He was the mother's brother (a "brother") to an unmarried girl who was also an orphan and was living with her father's sister. She did not have food of her own, but she made a fire for the blind man when it was cold, and occasionally she washed his dishes. To another of the three women he was "father's son" (*uwo onaregedu*), and to the third he was "father's brother's son" (*uwo umana onaregedu*). Two other women addressed him as "grandfather" (*iyedaga*): he was "husband's brother" (*oredu umana*) to one and "husband's father's son" (*Oredu uwo onaregedu*) to the other. Still another called him "father" (*iyogwa*). He was "father's brother" (*uwo uviye*) to her. Finally there were two women who considered themselves his "mother." Each had taken the role of mother for different dead belonging to the same

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868 bu keje, kodire ichare jorudu iware oino, jetori bokware kodi.
829 Du tabore ure jorudo iwado marenaru ui t pudumidu oto keje.
593 Kodire ichare marenaru kare ema. Oino.'"

736 clan, Paiwoe, of the blind man. This role is usually filled by the mother of the deceased or, if she is already dead, by the sister of the deceased. But there were no Paiwoe women left. Two women had to become "mothers" of a clan other than their own, and they consequently acquired responsibilities for the children of that clan.

Chapter IX

LINEAGE, CLAN AND MOIETY

613 The Bororo conceive of lineage as consisting of those
persons who are matrilineal descendants of an ancestor. The
ancestor's name, the lineage name, and the name of a member
614 of a lineage are the same. A clan is an aggregate of lin-
eages said to be related as matrilineal descendants of broth-
[604] ers. By the act of naming, each brother transmitted his
status and prerogatives to a different nephew (sister's son)
[613] and thus established a new lineage. Other lineages also may
have been founded by outsiders accepted into the clan. Each
clan has a name and is divided into two subclans. Clans and
subclans are characterized by their ornaments, songs, tools,
616 animals, and plants. Although the moiety is not supposed to
originate from a common ancestor, the relationships among
lineages within it are treated as if the common ancestors had
621 been brothers. If a village is to function properly in the
613 ceremonies, all the important lineages should be represented.

Lineages

613 In the subclan of Black Kiye three lineages are the most
important: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. The
importance of the different lineages is measured by mythical
deeds of their ancestors and by related functions that the

613 lineages have in contemporary Bororo rituals, and it is expressed in terms of seniority. Ki Bakororo is said to be the [796] older brother, the two others the younger brothers. Each of lineages (brothers) has to perform different functions in certain ceremonies, and the ancestral brothers have their own distinct personalities in the myths. However, the Bororo affirm that the three terms are only three different names of the same person: Ki Bakororo. He also has many other names, but these three are his most important ones. There is a way of reconciling these seemingly contradictory statements. Table VIII diagrams relationships which accommodate both of the above interpretations.

613 553 Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari are hierarchically ordered fraternal lineages. By the act of naming, every man and his mother's brother are equivalent: Ki Bakororo is equivalent to his mother's brother Ki Bakororo; Badajeba Kudoro is equivalent to his mother's brother Badajeba Kudoro; and Jakorari to his mother's brother Jakorari. 613 553 173 If we go far enough, we arrive at their common mother's brother, who, by the naming act, is equivalent to all three lineages: to Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. Thus the Bororo can logically say that the three names are only different names of the same person. The principal name of this person was Ki Bakororo, and this was the name that his eldest sister's son inherited from him. The name then continued to be used as the name of the principal lineage within the subclan by Ki Bakororo's matrilineal descendants.

Table VIII

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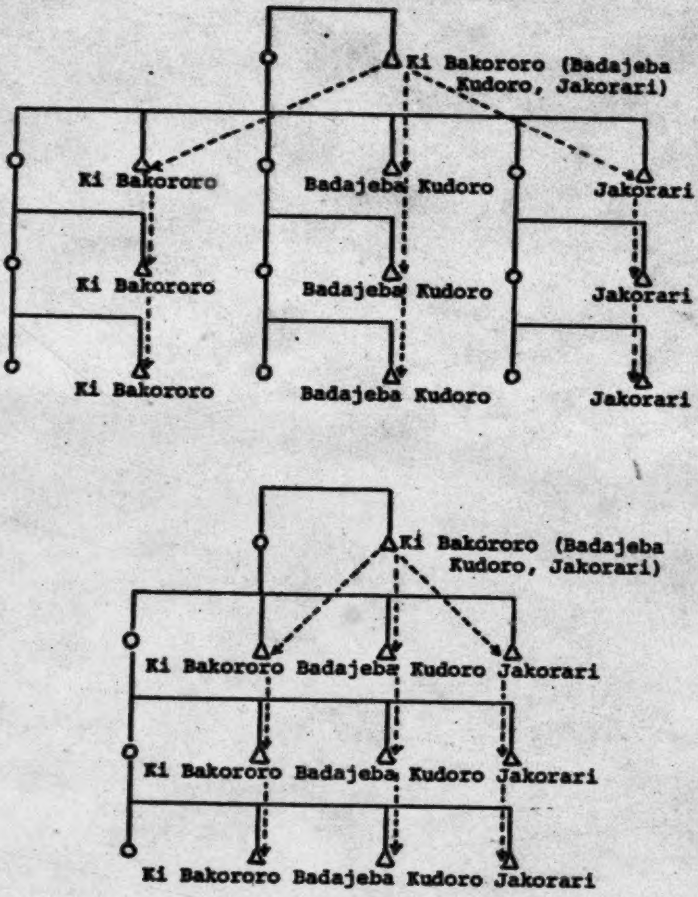
Ki Bakororo (Badajeba Kudoro, Jakorari)
Ki Bakororo
Badajeba Kudoro
Jakorari
Ki Bakororo
Badajeba Kudoro
Jakorari
Ki Bakororo
Badajeba Kudoro
Jakorari
Ki Bakororo (Badajeba Kudoro, Jakorari)
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari
Ki Bakororo Badajeba Kudoro Jakorari

The broken lines represent name-giving relationships and the arrows indicate the direction from name-giver to name-receiver

613 553 173 It is not known if the other two names, Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari, were actually used by the original Ki Bakororo, but this is not important. It may have happened that ten generations after the original Ki Bakororo, two of his descendants with the nicknames of Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari made themselves famous and established their own separate lineages. But the relationship of equivalence is not directional, so the names Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are retroactive, and the Bororo can say that Ki Bakororo is Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari.

181 Western anthropologists may consider themselves structuralists, but they still sometimes need historical explanations to understand better the structure of a system. The Bororo do not have this historical bias; their view of the world is entirely structural. We have already seen evidence of this world view in the symmetry of relationships between father and son and husband and wife and in the relationship of equivalence between a man and his name-giver; now it is evident in the hierarchical relationship among brothers who are "really the same person."

000 Ki Bakororo could be considered the unmarked term of this set, while Badajeba Kudoro and Jakorari are marked. In this specific example, Badajeba Kudoro is also considered the unmarked member in opposition to Jakorari, because Badajeba Kudoro is his older brother, and the relationship is transitive.

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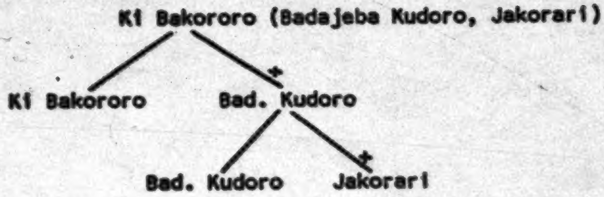

Cadet lines carry special names distinguishing them from their respective senior lines, which carry the prior or more general designation.

593 However, the relationship between brothers is not always transitive. Each case is resolved on its own merits. The Bororo take into consideration their own feelings and mythical knowledge about more or less close ties between brothers. Thus, in the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge, Tadugo is the older brother of Aroya Kurireu, and Aroya Kurireu is the older brother of Araru Kurireu. But the Bororo are very reluctant to say that Tadugo is the older brother of Araru Kurireu, though if the need arises (for example, if one is not available for a ceremony), they can be
593 substituted for each other. Araru Kurireu is supposed to
597 have been adopted from another clan by Aroya Kurireu, who
553 named him. As a result of the name bestowed, the two are considered to be the same person (*ere mitotuje*, "they are just one"; *e kare tuginoi*, "they are not separate") because both names are ultimately names of the same person. Though Tadugo and Araru Kurireu are considered brothers and consequently should be regarded as the same person, the Bororo

593 like to stress that they are not really the same person:
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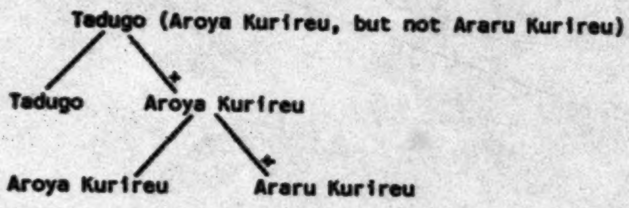
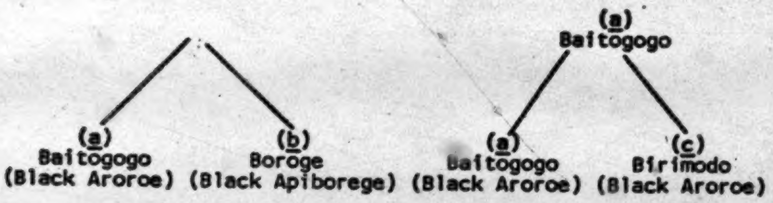

Tadugo (Aroya Kurireu, but not Araru Kurireu)
+
Tadugo
Aroya Kurireu
+
Aroya Kurireu
Araru Kurireu

613 The Bororo also express the relation between two lin-
829 eages belonging to different clans of the same moiety, but considered to be close, in terms of the older-brother—younger-brother relationship. But in this case they do not reduce the two lineages to the same person, and here too the relationship is not transitive to other lineages considered to be true brothers of the two lineages involved. For example:


(a)
Baitogogo
(Black Aroroe)
(b)
Boroge
(Black Apiborege)
(a)
Baitogogo
(a)
Baitogogo
(Black Aroroe)
(c)
Birimodo
(Black Aroroe)

Baitogogo (a) and Boroge (b) are brothers but "not really the same person" (they are from different clans). Baitogogo (a) and Birimodo (c) are brothers and they "are the same person" (they belong to the same clan). When asked if Birimodo (c) and Boroge (b) are brothers, the Bororo repeat that Baitogogo (a) is the older brother of Birimodo (c), and he is

613 also the older brother of Boroge (b), avoiding a direct answer
829 to the question. On the other hand, all the lineages from
[616] the same moiety are considered brothers, so when forced to
give a straight answer the Bororo will say that they are brothers, appealing to the broadest sense of that term.

As we can imagine, this flexibility of interpretation—employing terms in either a narrow or a broad sense—gives the Bororo a great freedom to interpret the relationship between lineages as it best serves them in any given situation.
626 The difference of individual opinion is also great, and if a
[773] quarrel arises, the man who knows more mythical facts and
[181] ways to manipulate them will win the argument. But since the
Bororo do not like to argue, there is an established unofficial hierarchy based on knowledge. The least knowledgeable, the one who is going to lose the argument, keeps his opinions to himself whenever a more knowledgeable man speaks.
124 The first thing I learned in the field was never to reveal
the source of my information. Some of the Bororo would occasionally guess whose opinion it might be, but nevertheless they could not be completely sure if their suppositions were right or wrong. And, what was most important, my refusal to reveal my informant's name allowed the new informant to speak more freely because he was relieved of the fear that he too might be exposed to the criticism of the others.

551 The discussion at the beginning of this chapter illus-
613 trated the difficulty in distinguishing between personal
names and lineage names. All the lineage names are also

551 613 personal names, but some personal names may have never been used as lineage names; and, finally, new names also can be made up by combining elements already existing. For example, *marido* is the buriti palm. It is also a big wheel used in the ceremony of the same name, and is made of cut pieces of an aquatic plant. It belongs to the clan Ivagududoge. The Bororo say: "*Marido* is the grandfather, the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. *Marido* is their name, they sing about it in their clan songs and in the opening songs of their ceremonies." (*Ivagududoge etuyedagare*, *etujarugore oino maridoche*. *Eyere*, *ekeroyare*, *eparuyare oino maridoche*.) Now, there are a great number of names which are made by adding some specification to the word *marido*:

1. Marido Aya
2. " Akadu
3. " Akiri
4. " Atugo
5. " Bororo
6. " Ekureu
7. " Jiwu
8. " Kaworu
9. " Kujaka
10. " Kurireu
11. " Mugu
12. " Okwa akiri
13. " Okwoda

551 14. Marido Paradu

613 15. " Ukiga

Of these fifteen personal names, eight (1,2,3,4,7,10, 12,13) have been recorded on several occasions as lineage names. Some of them (8,9,10) belong only to the subclan of the Black Ivagududoge (Older Brothers); others (2,4,5,6,7, 11,12,14,15) belong only to the subclan of the Red Ivagududoge (Younger Brothers); and alternative classification was recorded for 1,3, and 13.

614
551 Another item belonging to the clan Ivagududoge is the spirit Jakomea. Twenty-two different specifications have been recorded for the name Jakomea. Nine of them were the same as those used for Marido: akadu, akiri, atugo, ekureu, jiwu, kaworu, kurireu, mugu, okwoda. We see that the Bororo can form a large number of names by adding various specifications to the name of an item which belongs to one clan. Some of these specifications are always connected with the more important subclan (Black, Older Brothers): kurireu, choreu, kaworu, are. Others are connected with the less important subclan (Red, Younger Brothers): ekureu, enawu, kuguri, oro, kujagureu, akadu. Still others, akiri, atugo, okwoda, may be used by either of the subclans, or, on some occasions, by only one of them. Which subclan will use the names cannot be predicted because some items could have been seen first by the Blacks, others by the Reds.

As we have seen, most of the names are formed in this way: Jakomea Akadu, Jakomea Akiri, Jakomea Atugo, etc., and Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc.

613 551 Aroya Akadu, Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo etc. But there are other names more specifically connected with particular lineages. For example, Tadugo, the name of one of the lineages of the Black Ivagududoge, cannot be provided with specifications and cannot be given to members of another lineage. Another name reserved to the members of the Tadugo lineage is Tore Ebowu, "the one who went with his sons" (in the name is an allusion to a very important Bororo myth). Other important lineages have long lists of exclusive names. For example, Mamuyawuge Echeba, a lineage of the clan Badajebage Chobugiwuge, is the owner of the following names: Bakugu Kuri, Echera Baru, Eigawa Are, Eigawa Enawureu, Ekoe Choreu, Ekoe Ekudu, Enogureu, Ka Iwara, Mamori Ekureu, Mamori Kurireu, Mamori Ore, Okoge Paiwareu, Paiwareu, Pariko Ekureu, Turugudu Pijiwu, and perhaps many others. Some names are exclusive to a particular lineage only when formed with a particular specification. For example, the name Aroya Kurireu is exclusive to one lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge, while the names Aroya Akiri, Aroya Atugo, and Aroya Ekureu can belong to a member of a lineage of the subclan Black Ivagududoge or to a member of the subclan Red Ivagududoge.

613 614 The list actually recorded for the clan Ivagududoge includes about 250 names. Adding up all the names reported by other authors (Albisetti and Venturelli, 1962; Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942: 441-446; Cruz, 1939: 1941; Horta Barbosa in Rondon, 1948: 8-10) and excluding all repetitions results in a total of 191 names. To this number should be added 60

613 more names which I recorded. The number of actual lineages
614 is much smaller. Horta Barbosa reports 37 lineages, while three of my informants for the same clan of Ivagududoge have specified 77, 32, and 24 lineages respectively.

613 However, the number of lineages considered important (e.g., lineages which are essential to the continuity of ceremonial life) by any one of my informants is much smaller. In Table IX are reported the names of the Ivagududoge lineages as I recorded them on eight different occasions from seven different informants. Columns 3 and 4 were given by the same man on two different occasions. Column 3 was supplied upon request. The names listed in column 4 were mentioned as part of a myth in which the lineages of the clan Ivagududoge are reestablished after a big flood which left only one Bororo alive. The places assigned to the two lineages and their similar forms show that the Bororo consider Jakomea Atugo and Jakomea Atugodojeba as one lineage, or at least as two lineages so close to each other that it is not necessary to mention both of them at the same time. The same thing happens with Koge Ebowu and Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The table shows that each person mentioned between five and twelve lineages as the important ones. In all, twenty-four lineages were mentioned, but only five of them were reported by every person. There are very few differences in the order of placement of these five important lineages. The two informants (No. 7 and 8) who put Jakomea Atugo before Butore Agadu were brothers, and since both of them included in the

[Text Continued On Page 120]

613 list some names that nobody else did, we must suppose that their family tradition was a little different from the rest of the community. The placement of Koge (Enogwa) Tabowu is very interesting. Some included it among the Red Ivagududoge, others among the Black, and one said that it was neither Red nor Black, it was in between: boyadadawu. Thus, the members of this lineage can choose their ornaments and songs from either of the subclans.

I did the same kind of analysis for the other clans, and the result was the following list (Table X) of the most important Bororo lineages. [124] It should be noted that no informant would give the same list, but the majority of them would include all of the lineages mentioned in the list.[1]

[128] [622] The order given to the lineages around the village circle (see table XI) follows the Bororo usage; and I started with Badajebage Chebegiwuge because this is the order followed by the chief in calling out clan members for the evening meeting on the village plaza. But when they talk about lineages or when they sing clan songs, the Bororo may start with whatever lineage or clan they prefer and then proceed either clockwise or counterclockwise until they have

[Text Continued On Page 123]

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[115] [128] [1] When I concluded my analysis and made the list, I asked my wife, whose primary interest in the field had not been Bororo social organization, to tell me the names of the lineages she considered to be most important. She mentioned 24 of them, all included in the list, leaving out Kurugugwari Pijiwu and Aturua. This shows how much these important lineages are part of the Bororo daily talk.

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Table X

Lineage:	**Subclan:**	**Clan:**	**Moiety:**
1. Arua	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Echerae
2. Bakorokudu			
3. Ocha Kadureu	Echerae		
4. Badajeba Kudoro	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge	Kiye	
5. Ki Bakororo			
6. Jakorari			
7. Kurugugwari Pijiwu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge		
8. Inokuri	Chebegiwuge	Bokodori Echerae	
9. Kaigu	Chobugiwuge		
10. Mamuyawege Echeba	Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
11. Bokwarebo			
12. Akaruyo Bokodori			
13. Jerigi Otojiwu	O-Boro Echerae		
14. Aturua	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Paiwoe	Tugarege
15. Baiporo	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
16. Apuye Echeba	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Apiborege	
17. Kurugugwa			
18. Boroge	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
19. Baitogoço	Chobugiwuge, Choreuge	Aroroe	
20. Birimodo			
21. Butore Agadu	Chobugiwuge, Kujagureuge	Ivagududoge	
22. Jakomea Atugodojeba			
23. Koge Enogwa Tabowu			
24. Aroya Kurireu	Chebegiwuge, Choreuge		
25. Tadugo			
26. Mano Kurireu	Chebegiwuge, Kujagureuge	Aroroe	

Table XI

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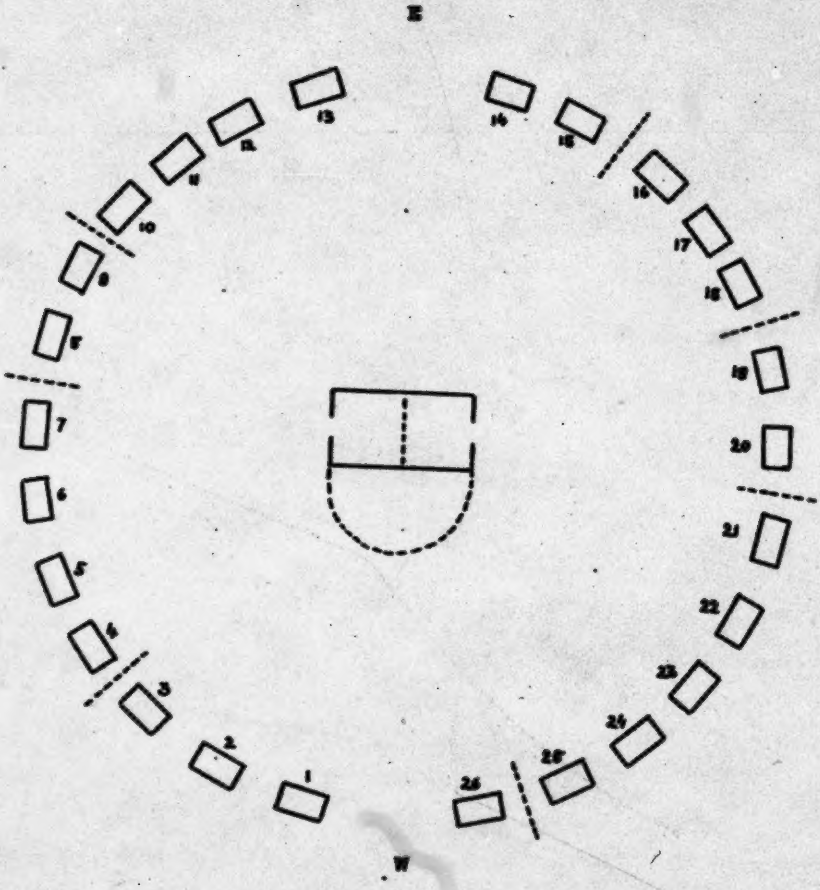
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613 made a complete circle. I did not find that one direction was preferred over the other. But whatever their starting point was, and whichever direction they took, they would complete the circle rather than make two opposite semicircles.

Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu may be considered separated lineages of closely related brothers. But, while most of the informants in the similar case of Ki Bakororo, Jakorari, and Badajeba Kudoro would enumerate all three of them, the informants in the case of Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and Magurereu would say only one of the names, the one they preferred. And if asked about the other two names, they would say that those too are the same lineage as the first one. Following this usage, I put all of those names under one lineage.

Clan and Moiety

000 We now approach one of the most interesting and most discussed aspects of Bororo social organization, that is, the village plan and the division into moieties, clans, and sub-
616 clans. Two exogamous moieties are divided by an east-west axis. On the northern side are the Tugarege, on the southern the Echerae, Because of the lay of the land which the Bororo inhabit, east is at the same time upstream, and west
614 is downstream. In each moiety there are four clans arranged in a circle. As can be seen from the list on page 121, I did not find each clan to be divided into three subclans: upper, middle, and lower, as has been reported by others (Albisetti & Venturelli, 1962: 437; Crocker, 1969: 45). In my diagram

614 823 each clan is divided into two subclans, and the terms used for the subclans are not the same in each case. Some subclans are termed chobugiwu (upstream), some chebegiwu (downstream). And, at the same time, some of them are called choreu (black), or kujagureu (red). One lineage (Koge Enogwa Tabowu) belongs to both the red and black subclans, and four subclans are designated by special terms. These inconsistencies in the designation of subclans reproduce the way in which the Bororo talk about their subclans.

614 829 The relationship between the subclans within a clan is regarded as being that between older and younger brothers. One of the subclans is called Etumanamage (Older Brothers); the alternative names for Older Brothers are Choreu (Black) and Kurireu (Big). The other subclan is called Etuviyemage (Younger Brothers), with Kujagureu (Red) or Kugurireu (Small) being alternative names for Younger Brothers.

614 823 829 This division does not correspond to the division of the two subclans in chobugiwuge (upstream) and chebegiwuge (downstream), which is solely related to the position of each subclan toward the flow of the river. The choreuge can be downstream and the kujagureuge upstream, as among the Kiye, Paiwoe, Apiborege, and Ivagududoge; but their position can be the reverse, as among the Aroroe. Being downstream or upstream in itself does not say anything about the importance of the subclan. Besides, the terms chobugiwuge and chebegiwuge can be used to indicate the relative position of units in other contexts. Within each subclan one

614 lineage can be upstream in relation to another lineage,
823 which in its turn, is upstream in relation to a third one.
829 The clans within a moiety are upstream or downstream in relation to each other. Finally, the whole village could be divided into two halves, the upstream and the downstream, though this division is not a functional one.[1]

613 The term boyadadawuge (those in the middle) is applied
614 similarly. It can indicate a lineage situated between two other lineages or a clan situated between two other clans, or it can indicate village leaders whose place on the village plaza is central, while less important people sit around them. In literature about the Bororo this term has often been used to designate a third subdivision of the clan. We have already briefly explained the usage of this term in connection with the status of the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu
613 within the Ivagududoge clan (see page 120). Some lineages which do not own any ornaments, songs, or ceremonies of their own, and which are geographically situated between two subclans, may if they wish use prerogatives that belong to either one of their neighbors, the Blacks or the Reds. When mentioned—and these lineages are rarely mentioned because they are not important—they are included either among the Blacks or among the Reds. But if in doubt, the Bororo will call them boyadadawu.

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[775] [1] A few informants would object to this statement. They say that the souls of the dead people inhabit one or the other of the lands of the spirits, depending on their position in the upper or lower part of the village while alive.

613
571 There is still another context in which the Bororo use the term boyadadawu, and in this case the term is used interchangeably with akuge. Akuge is another Bororo word which is difficult to render in English. The closest translation would be the Portuguese "criaçao dêles," their domestic animals, their pets, their foster children. In the present context an appropriate translation would be "their clients." The designation boyadadawu may be applied when a lineage within a clan is of so little importance that the Bororo are reluctant to call it either Black or Red. In this instance the term boyadadawu does not indicate the spatial position of the lineage between the two subclans, but rather it indicates that the lineage is attached to other lineages which can legitimately be considered Black or Red. An exception, however, is the lineage Koge Enogwa Tabowu, which was designated by one informant as boyadadawu. This lineage can be considered "in the middle" in two ways. It is in the middle between the Black and the Red Ivagududoge, and at the same time it is considered to be geographically the middle of the Tugarege moiety. A comparable lineage in the Echerae moiety is supposed to be a lineage situated between the two subclans of the Bokodori Echerae clan, but the informants do not agree on its name.

614
613 I will now discuss some clans that present certain peculiarities in their subdivision.

The clan Bokodori Echerae is not divided into Blacks and Reds. The Bororo avoid making this division when talking

614 about this clan. In order to understand why, I will first
613 give one of the more complete listings of the lineages within the clan:

Kaigu
Magurereu
Arigao Kocha
Kiogo Birigedo
Porireu Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge
Imorio
Bokodori Akiri
Bokodori Baru
Barogo Bororo

Barame
Chibae Edugo
Koge Edugo
Koge Ekureu Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge
Koiwo Kuri
Echerae Etuviye
Inokuri

Inokuri, the last in the list, is considered to be
closely related to Kaigu, Magurereu, and Arigao Kocha, the
first three of the list. In relation to them, he is their
"younger brother while in relation to the other lineages
within his own subclan, he is considered their "older brother"
and included together with Kaigu, Arigao Kocha, and
Magurereu among the "Older Brothers" (Etumanamage) or the
614 "Big" (Kurireuge). On the other hand, the division of Blacks
613 and Reds is based mainly on the presumed colors of the an-
822 cestors of each subclan and on the color of feathers and
paint used for their ornaments in ceremonies. Inokuri and
all his akuge ("clients"), Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge, use
red feathers and red paint, while the Bokodori Echerae

614 Chobugiwuge use black feathers and black paint.[1] However,
613 it would be quite improper to call Inokuri Red because, as
822 we have already seen, the Reds are identified with Younger
Brothers and Small People, and Inokuri is neither of them.
614 Thus, the Bororo evade the problem by applying to the
613 Bokodori Echerae only the topographical designation, and
they talk only about upstream and downstream subclans. One of my informants did use the color division, but, when asked for clarification, he said: "The Bororo do not say in this way, but I do" (Boe ego kare ino, mare imire inagore).

Many variations exist in the denominations of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan. These variations are not arbitrary; they occur as alternative designations in different contexts (see Table XII).

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[1] It will be shown later that the color division is relative. When black and red are opposed, black is the color of the older brother and red that of the younger. When red and yellow are in opposition, red is the color of older brother, and yellow that of the younger.

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Table XII

	Set A	Set B	Set C	Set D
Clan "Badajebage Chobugiwuge" or "Bakoro Echerae"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	O-Boro Echerae
Subclan II	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae	Bakoro Echerae Enogujeba Echerae
Clan "Badajebage Chebegiwuge"				
Subclan I	O Echerae, Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge	Echerae	Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Subclan II	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set A

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614

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori → (Badajeba)	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chobugiwuge Badajebage ↗ Chobugiwuge	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Bakorokudu → (Badajeba)	O Echerae Boro Echerae Chebegiwuge Badajebage ↗ Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

The lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and Bakorokudu are considered the badajebage ("formal chiefs") of a Bororo village. Their title, badajeba, is extended to their subclans and to their clans. The division in upstream (chobugi) and downstream (chebegi) distinguishes these subclans and clans from each other. The two remaining subclans have their names derived from their common ancestors o (a variety of heron) and boro (a variety of snail)/ they too are divided into upstream and downstream.

613
614

Set B

Lineages	Subclans	Clans
Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)	O-Boro Echerae Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge
	Echerae Badajebage	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

Set B is the most frequently used in informal references to these two clans and their subclans. In this instance the clans keep the names which designate them as the clans of the "formal chiefs." One of the subclans of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan, the one to which Akaruyo Bokodori belongs, is called Bakoro Echerae, an alternative name for the Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The Bakorokudu lineage does not have any alternative name, so its subclan continues to be called Badajebage. However, its specification chebegiwuge (downstream) is dropped because it is not needed to distinguish this subclan from its upstream counterpart, which has now a different name. The subclans O-Boro Echerae are distinguished by calling the one upstream by its full name, and the one downstream just Echerae.[1]

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[1] Whether the term Echerae in a particular case designates the whole moiety or just the subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan becomes clear only from the context in which the term is used. It must be stressed that the Bororo do not regard the Echerae subclan as being the Echerae par excellence.

613 614 Set B is the only one in which there are no polysemic designations. Every term is different. For this reason the Bororo prefer to use terms from this set whenever referring to a particular clan or subclan in isolation.

Set C

Subclans	Clans
Badajebage Chobugiwuge Bakoro Echerae	Badajebage Chobugiwuge or Bakoro Echerae
Echerae Badajebage Chebegiwuge	Badajebage Chebegiwuge

In Set C the name Badajebage Chobugiwuge is implicitly applied to the upstream clan and its subclans. However, to distinguish one subclan from the other, the more important subclan is called Bakoro Echerae from the alternative name for Akaruyo Bokodori lineage. The less important subclan, formerly called O-Boro Echerae, keeps the more generalized name Badajebage Chobugiwuge. The name Bakoro Echerae may also be used to designate the clan. The downstream clan and its subclans maintain the names they had in Set B.

Set D

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Lineages	Subclans	Clans
	O-Boro Echerae	
		Badajebage Chobugiwuge
Akaruyo Bokodori →	Bakoro Echerae	
Mamuyawuge Echeba →	Enogujeba Echerae	
	Badajebage Chobugiwuge	
		Badajebage Chebegiwuge
	Badajebage Chebegiwuge	

It should be noted that the Bororo limit the usage of set D to a special occasion, perhaps to avoid any possibility of confusion between the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and that subclan of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan which is also [796] called here Badajebage Chobugiwuge. On the evening before a ceremony the chief formally invites all the clans to participate in the following order:

Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge
Kiye Chebegiwuge, Chobugiwuge
Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae[1]
Enogujeba Echerae, Bakoro Echerae, O-Boro Echerae

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[1] Okoge Echerae, Chibae Echerae is alternative name for the Bokodori Echerae clan.

613 Paiwoe, Apiborege[1]

614 Aroroe Chobugiwuge, Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge

[796] Ivagududoge Chebegiwuge, Aroroe Chebegiwuge

[361] The order reflects the spatial succession of the subclans (and, in the case of Paiwoe and Apiborege, clans) in the village.

In Set D the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan consists of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge proper (the subclan to which the Bakorokudu lineage belongs) and a less important subclan. The latter subclan, upstream in relation to the first, is called Badajebage Chobugiwuge. Because it contains the important two lineages of Akaruyo Bokodori and his younger brother Mamuyawuge Echeba, the more important subclan of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan is split into Bakoro Echerae (Akaruyo Bokodori) and Enogujeba Echerae (Mamuyawuge Echeba).

We have seen all the different ways in which the two clans Badajebage Chobugiwuge and Badajebage Chebegiwuge can be designated. But what is the reason for so many different designations? Why are the usual ones—Black, Older Brother, and Big; and Red, Younger Brother, and Small—not used for these clans?

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571 The Akaruyo Bokodori lineage of the Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan and the Bakorokudu lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan have a special place in the Bororo social sys-

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[1] The Paiwoe and Apiborege clans are called together because, as the Bororo explain it, they are numerically small.

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed outside
226 the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakorokudu
701 gives orders for activities within the village, such as
796 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who decides
533 what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One informant,
who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

613 614 571 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special names. 183 571 It is my opinion that the function of this disagreement is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

Chapter X

CHARACTERISTIC KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS

114 In a chapter of Tristes Tropiques (1970: 183-231) and
121 in two articles reprinted in Structural Anthropology (1969,
772 "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" pp. 132-163; "Social Structures of Central and Eastern Brazil" pp. 120-131), Lévi-Strauss discusses the dual organization of the Bororo, having found that there are, in fact, two kinds of dual organization, one concentric, the other diametric, and in addition, a triadic structure.

Christopher Crocker saw Bororo society as regulated by two organizational principles: "opposition between members of the same clan, or kinsmen, but solidarity between members of different moieties, or affines" (1969: 44). He continued:

> As I mentioned above, the Bororo consider each clan to possess a distinctive character and to be totally unlike any other clan. Since a single principle of comparison cannot be applied to all the clans, they are non-comparable and cannot be ranked. Monkeys and armadillos are two completely different creatures which contrast in all respects, and it is impossible to speak of one or the other, or of the clans they represent, as 'better,' 'smaller' or uglier.' But one may discuss older and younger monkeys, bigger and smaller armadillows, handsomer and uglier tapirs, and consequently the lineages may be compared and ordered through a hierarchy, or the sub-class be ranked as superior and inferior. The Bororo universe, which includes nature as well as society, expresses two principles of organisation: the inequality of like items related asymmetrically and the equality of unlike items related symmetrically. Such structures, as Bateson pointed out some

> 114 time ago (1936: 178-97), imply that the units in-
> volved in the first case exchange dissimilar ob-
> 121 jects or acts (e.g. obedience for leadership)
> 772 while those in the second case relate through the
> exchange of similar or equivalent things (women
> for women). To establish the validity of this
> deduction for the Bororo and to relate it to the
> contradiction mentioned above requires the expo-
> sition of another dimension of Bororo normative
> order, that found in the two origin myths" (1969:
> 50).

121 There are, however, two other logically possible "prin-
772 ciples of organization:" First, like items could be equal: one monkey could be just as good as another; second, unlike items could be unequal. Although Crocker says that monkeys and armadillos are non-comparable, he then proceeds to compare them by saying that they are equal. If they are comparable then they could also be unequal: tapirs could be better, bigger, or handsomer than monkeys. Thus, there exist four logically possible kinds of relationships:

	inequality ignored	inequality recognized
like items	A	B
unlike items	C	D

772 It is my belief that the structure of the Bororo society
181 rests upon the first three "principles of organization:"

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A. Equality of like items, or the relationships of equivalence,[1]

B. Inequality of like items, or the relationships of proper inequality,

C. Equality of unlike items, or the relationships of symmetrical reciprocity.

I did not find the fourth possibility expressed in the Bororo social structure: inequality of unlike items; though the work of other researchers indicates that certain forms of hierarchical relationships may exist even between moieties (see page 186).

[61] All three kinds of relationships are expressed most clearly through the idiom of kinship, and all three are necessary to understand the Bororo social and cosmological universe. In previous chapters we have already had the opportunity to see some of these relationships at work. In this chapter I will present the case in greater detail.

A. Relationships of Equivalence

593 The first kind of relationship originates in that between a woman and her child, and by successive extensions includes the relationships between sister and brother (≈ child), sis-

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[1] Equality should be distinguished from equivalence. I consider two items to be equal if they have the same value in respect to some attribute (here it is social status). Equivalent items, in addition to having the same value in regard to the relevant attribute, are also like each other and substitutable for each other.

593 ter and sister (≈ child), brother and brother in their functions as name-giver and name-receiver, and finally between all the matrilineal ancestors and their heirs.

[551] A woman says of her child: "This child is a small me" (*Awu itonaregedu, imi rogu rugada*). A man from the Baitogogo lineage is identified with all his matrilineal ancestors who had the same name Baitogogo: "He is a grandchild of Baitogogo, he is in the place of Baitogogo, he is he himself" (*Baitogogo uvagedu nure ema, Baitogogo muga kejere, ema nure ema rugada*). The "place" here means both the role of Baitogogo in his social relations and his spatial place in the village circle. They are the same for the Bororo.

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827 It has already been mentioned that all animals, plants, natural features, and cultural objects theoretically belong
[421] to one Bororo clan or another. All of these objects not only belong to a particular clan, but they are also its ancestors. Thus: "*Marido* (buriti palm and also big wheel made of sections of an aquatic plant) is the grandfather and the grandmother of the Ivagududoge. Therefore, their name and their song is *marido*" (*Ivagududoge etuyedagare, etujarugore oino maridoche. Eyere, ekeroyare oino maridoche*). Because the descendants are equivalent to their ancestors, not only is *marido* the ancestor of the Ivagududoge, but the Ivagududoge
614 themselves are *marido*. Some other ancestors of the Ivagu-
825 dudoge clan are *okiwa* (capybara), *araru*, (a fish), *jarudo* (a
827 fish), *kido* (parakeet), *pobureu* (vulture), *chiwaje* (turkey buzzard), *aere* (a kind of goatsucker), *mokureabo* (a kind of

614 goatsucker), *kochaga* (rail), *okiwareu* (mouse), *arigaodoge*
825 *choreuge* and *kujagureuge* (black and red dogs), *Aroya* (a
827 spirit), *Jakomea* (a spirit), *butore* (a rattle made with peccary hooves), *tugo* (arrow), *Kuyade Tugojiriye* (a spirit), *maridogwarege* (a bird), *korao* (parrot), *kuje* (curassow), *piodudu* (hummingbird), *ivagudu* (blue crow), and perhaps *bokwaru* (fog) and *pobo* (water). Certain lineages of the Ivagududoge are more closely related to particular items:
613 "People say: Mano Kurireu is on the point of *kitariga* and
825 *konorigi*" (*Boe egore*: *Mano kurireu emare jeture kitariga*
827 *otoji*, *konorigi otoji*). That is, Mano Kurireu originated from *kitariga* (a variety of grasshopper) and *konorigi* (cicada). Similarly other lineages originated from other species:

> "People say that:
>
> Aroya Kurireu originated from *itubore mogodoge*[1]
> Tadugo " " *maridogwarege* (a bird)
> Araru Kurireu " " *beto kigadu maerewu* (sprout of buriti palm)
> Jakomea Kuwada " " *kowagije* (an insect that lives on the water)
> Koge Ebowu " " *bapore* (a bird)
> Jakomea Attugo " " *ruye* (frog)."

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[1] My informant was not sure about the meaning of *itubore mogodoge*; he thought that maybe they meant *marido* (buriti palm) in poetic language.

613 The Bororo are very reluctant to talk about the ances-
827 tors of certain lineages because they are not proud to be the
descendants of those ancestors. They are mentioned only in
124 quarrels as an insult. I was able to collect some of these
613 examples only by provoking one of my informants. He was from
827 the Kurugugwa lineage of the Apiborege clan, and I told him
that there was a rumor that the true Kurugugwa had died long
ago and the present members of the Kurugugwa lineage were
just impostors. Furthermore, I said, the Bororo were saying
that the Apiborege could not take care of one of their
younger brothers, so the Ivagududoge (in which clan I was
named) had had mercy upon him and accepted him as one of their
own. My informant gave me his theory about what had really
happened in this case and then went on to say that my own
clan had a lot of things to hide. An example:

> 613 827 "Meri defecated on some stones. His feces changed into a goatsucker (mokureabo), nay, a true Ivagududoge. Therefore their (Ivagududoge's) mouths are big, and their heads are big. And the[1] people say that their village lies on the rocks."

As we see from this example, alleged characteristics of people in the different clans are explained by relating them to traits of their animal ancestors. Another example:

> 825 "People say that the Kiye originated from the monkeys; therefore their arms and legs are skinny; therefore their skin is black; their

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[1] "Awu meri pegodure pariri keje. Ure nowu pore mokureabodo pudumi. Boe kimorema iya Ivagududoge rabode. Duwugere eya kurichigore, etaya boa kurichigore. Duwugere boe egore 'ewororo paduye pariri keje'."

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[825]
faces are black."[2]

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At other times the insult is formulated as a riddle in which the habitat of a particular animal or insect is described: "People say to the Bokodori Echerae: 'Tell me, who is the one who looks from below the straw mat?'" (Boe egore Bokodori Echerae ei: Kaboba cheba aiwore kodo, beto ena pijiboe akagoino i.) The answer is: cockroaches (boorewuge).

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Most names of the clans are also derived from some of the purported ancestors, but the fact that they have been chosen as names dows not make them associated with the clan more closely than the other ancestral beings and objects.

[825]
> "Paiwoe originated from pai (howling monkey). At first the Bororo did not call them Paiwoe; they called them: 'those who originated from pai.' But then the Bororo improved their name, so they called them Paiwoe. Those who originated from the black pai are called Paiwoe Chebegiwuge; those who originated from the pai with red chest are called Paiwoe Chobugiwuge.
>
> "When the Apiborege were in the village of Apibo, they saw apido (acuri palm). With its leaves they built their houses. The Bororo saw them and gave them the name Apiborege. But they were not called Apiborege at first; they were called Apido Arege (the masters of apido). But then the Bororo made their name prettier."[2]

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[1] "Kiye boe egore, eduye juko ki otoji. Boe egore, kodire ekera, epogora kodu bokware, kodire eviri chore, e chore."

[2] "Pai otojire Paiwoe edure. Kodire boe ego karegure Paiwoe oino cha ei. 'Pae oto jiwuge' oinore boe egore ei. Kodire karega ichare ere pemegado. Kodire ichare boe egore Paieoe oino ei. Pai choreu otojire eire boe egore Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, pai para kujagureu otojiwu Paiwoe eire boe egore Paiwoe Chobugiwuge oino.

"Apiborege erudu nure apidoji rakojei t Apibo bororo keje duji. Kodire ichare ere tuwaido aiche. Du jire boe erudure. Kodire ichare boere eyedo Apiborege oino. Mare oino karega

614 The story goes similarly for every clan: the Aroroe Chobugi-
827 wuge originated from aroro imedu (male butterfly larva), the
825 Aroroe Chebegiwuge from aroro aredu (female butterfly larva).
The ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chobugiwuge was keao-keao
aredu (female crow), the ancestor of the Ivagududoge Chebegi-
wuge was keao-keao imedu (male crow), but the true name of
614 keao-keao is ivagudu. Badajebage is the only clan name
827 which is not supposed to be derived from an ancestral item.

> "The Badajebage traveled with the Bororo. Thus, the people (the Bororo) called them 'ba dodu epage' (masters of the camp: the Badajebage as chiefs of the village decide when and where camp should be made during the trips). But then the Bororo improved their name and called them Badajebage."[1]

614 The ancestor of the Bokodori Echerae was bokodori (giant
827 armadillo). Kiye Kurireuge originated from ki choreu (black
825 tapir), the Kiye Kugurireuge from ki bu kujagureu (tapir
with red fur).

616 The names of the moieties are explained a little differently. A name which originally belonged to the Ivagududoge was extended to include all the Tugarege:

> "These Tugarege, all of the Tugarege are called Tugarege by the Bororo. The Ivagududoge were first to come across the arrow (tugo). Then they cut the string of the bundle of arrows for their companions (they divided the arrows among

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ure chaje. Apido Arege oinore eyere kodi karega. Ichare boere pemegado."

[1] "Badajebagere eture boebo. Du kodire boe egore 'ba dodu epage' oino ei. Ma ichare boere ichare enogwa pemegaguragare eyeji. Kodire ichare boe egore Badajebage ino ei."

616 > their companions), for their companions Aroroe, their companions Paiwoe, their companions Apiborege. Thus the name of all these people is Tugarege."[1]

Tugo (arrow) is the ancestor par excellence of the Ivagududoge, but by dividing the arrows among their moiety "brothers," the Ivagududoge shared their ancestor with the other clans of their moiety.

The name of the other moiety, Echerae, is not derived from any ancestral item. Meri (the sun) is supposed to have given the name to the Echerae in one song. My informants said that the word did not have other denotations. "Owners of the songs," the meaning given in the Enciclopédia Bororo (p. 438), also has to do with singing, and this fits well with the general characteristics of the Echerae moiety, as will be shown later.

827 The equivalence of ancestors and descendants explains
the old controversy about whether or not the Bororo believe
they are macaws (Von den Steinen, 1894: 512; Levy-Bruhl, 1966:
62; Vygotski, 1962: 71-72; Geertz, 1966: 37-38; Barnes, 1969:
614 98). Red macaws (nabure), with which, according to Von den
616 Steinen, the Bororo claim identity, are the ancestors of the
827 Aroroe. On the other hand, one myth tells how the Bokodori
Echerae threw themselves into the fire and became red macaws

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[1] Awu Tugarege, Tugarege eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Awu Ivagududoge emagere etogeadure tugoji chaje. Eigoyare ichare ere tugo kogu kado tumedagei, tumeduya Aroroei, tumeduya Paiwoei, tumeduya Apiboregei. Du kodire ichare eyamedu boe eyere Tugarege. Oino."

614 and other birds with colorful feathers. Thus, the red
616 macaws are the Bokodori Echerae and by extension all the
827 Echerae. According to another myth, the Tugarege too created
red macaws and other colorful birds, but not by self-sacrifice;
they transformed certain insects into birds. To a
certain degree then, both moieties can claim the red macaws
as their ancestors and consequently consider themselves
equivalent to them.

B. Relationships of Proper Inequality

871 Most of the Bororo conceptual ideas are patterned after
561 the relationship assumed to exist between older and younger
[192] brothers. This relationship is asymmetrical. To call somebody
just "brother," without specifying his hierarchical position
in relation to Ego, is impossible in the Bororo language.
[773] One is always older or younger. In the myths, even
twins are clearly differentiated between older and younger.
844 The emphasis on the inequality of brothers influenced my best
informant's statement that he did not know of twins ever being
[773] born to a Bororo woman. This, perhaps, could have happened
before the Flood, but according to a myth, the doe
which engendered the Bororo after the Flood gave birth to one
child after another in succession, never to two at once. And
so, after the doe, do the Bororo women.

181 Some examples of this hierarchical arrangement have already
571 been mentioned by Lévi-Strauss (1961: 183-231; 1963:
114 132-163). He noticed the opposition between center and
periphery, man and woman, men's house and women's houses,

181 sacred and profane, ceremonial life and domestic activities,
571 participants and spectators, the dead and the living. The
[114] patterning of subclan relationships on the model of the relationship existing between older and younger brother has been discussed in previous chapters. We have also discussed earlier the stock of names which are partially different for the two subclans of the same clan, and the differences in the activities commanded by the two important headmen Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori. In the following discussion the nature of this asymmetrical relationship will be presented more extensively and supplemented with additional data.

619 The Bororo clans, as we have seen, are divided into sub-
561 clans of older brothers, which are Black and Big, and sub-
562 clans of younger brothers, which are Small and Red. In re-
822 porting the origins of clan names, I recorded that the ances-
827 tors of the subclans differ in color and sex. The ancestor of the Big Paiwoe is pai choreu (black howling monkey), while their younger brothers have as ancestors the red counterparts of the same animals. Similarly, while the Black Aroroe have aroro imedu (male butterfly larva) as their ancestor, the Red Aroroe have aroro aredu (female butterfly larva). The Ivagududoge, too, divided their ancestors keao-keaodoge (kind of crow) into imedu (male), belonging to the older brothers' clan, and aredu (female), belonging to the younger brothers.
614 The division is not restricted only to animals; many other
562 beings and cultural items are subjected to similar differen-
822
827 tiation: ancestors of the Black Ivagududoge are tugo choreu

614 (black arrow), butore choreu (black rattle made from peccary
562 hooves), marido imedu (big wheel made of sections of an
822 aquatic plant), and Jakomea imedu (male spirit Jakomea);
827 ancestors of the Red Ivagududoge are tugo kujagureu (red arrow), butore kujagureu (red rattle), marido aredu (female wheel), and Jakomea aredu (female Jakomea). Thus, black or male items are the ancestors of the more important subclan, while red or female items are the ancestors of the less important subclan. Furthermore, in most cases it is possible to substitute black for female[A] and vice versa, and red for female and vice versa. Ki choreu and tugo choreu are with equal frequency called ki imedu and tugo imedu; ki kujagureu and tugo kujagureu are with equal frequency called ki aredu and tugo aredu. Theoretically all the items are divided into black or male and red or female. In practice only the items emphasized as ancestors and represented in ceremonies[1] are so divided.

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[799] [1] It was already mentioned (see page 140) that particular items not only belong to a particular clan but are also its ancestors. Many of these items, especially animals, are represented in dramatic performances that are part of the Bororo funeral ceremonies. Clan members never represent their own ancestors; this is the duty of their yorubodare (alliés). Thus, we should distinguish between the owners of the performance, who decide when the representation of their ancestors is to be performed, and their alliés, who are the actual performers in the ceremonies. The owners are responsible for staging the performance and for seeing to it that each actor is painted, ornamented, and supplied with the paraphernalia special to the animal he represents. The actors, on the other hand, with stylized movements, gestures, and sounds try to imitate the animals they represent.

[A] [The author apparently means male here--Analyst]

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237 In Bororo ceremonial performances the actors represent-
302 ing female animals are frequently painted white or ornamented
614 with white feathers. The relationship between subclans is,
822 then, expressed through the opposition of black and white.
[825] For example, *bakuguma choreu* (black falcon) belongs to the Black Aroroe, *bakuguma tororeu* (white falcon) to the Red; *aroe echeba choreu* (black harpy eagle) belongs to the Black Apiborege, *aroe echeba tororeu* (white harpy eagle) to the Red; *aere choreu* (black goatsucker) to the Black Paiwoe, *aere tororeu* (white goatsucker) to the Red.

561 The older - younger opposition itself is occasionally
[796] displayed in ceremonial performances. Adult animals belong
[825] to older brothers, young animals to younger brothers. *Para-
[827] bara eimejera* (the chief of the wild tree-ducks) is ancestor
[614] of the Black Apiborege, *parabara onaregedu* (the young wild tree-duck) is ancestor of the Red. In addition to the female tapir, the ancestor of the Red Kiye is the baby tapir (*ki onaregedu*). In this context *onaregedu* does not refer to a genealogical relation between father or mother and child, but only to the age distinction between an adult and a young. At any time the term *onaregedu* can be replaced by *oro*, which means young of the same kind: *marido oro* are the young sprouts of buriti palm.

822 The *kurireu* (big)-*kugurireu* (small) distinction also
614 finds expression in ceremonial performances reflecting the
827 differences between ancestors attributed to subclans. *Buturoe* (a kind of larvae) *kurireu* are ancestors of Kiye

822 Kurireuge, *buturoe* *kugurireuge* of the Kiye Kugurireuge.
614 *Okoge* (a fish of the Salmonidae family) *kurireuge* belong to
827 the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge, *okoge* *kugurireuge* to the
Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It has already been mentioned (see footnote p. 148) that
796 clan members never represent their own ancestors in ceremonies; this is the duty of their *yorubodare* Big subclans, Small subclans will tend to have as their *yorubodare* Small subclans. For example, *nabure* (the red-and-blue macaw) is the ancestor of the Aroroe. *Nabure* *imedu* (male macaw), the ancestor of the Black Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge; *nabure* *aredu* (female macaw), ancestor of the Red Aroroe, is represented by the Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge.

614 It is important to note that in a few cases a discrep-
827 ancy exists between the descendants of an item and the owners
421 of its representation. For example: the male or black tapir
825 is the ancestor of the Black Kiye, the female tapir and the baby tapir are the ancestors of the Red Kiye. On the other hand, the representation of the male tapir belongs to the lineage of Ki Bakororo, while the female tapir and the baby tapir belong to Jakorari. Ki Bakororo is the older brother of Jakorari, but both of them belong to the subclan of the older brothers. The opposition between older and younger is retained in both cases, but only from an exact knowledge of the context can one determine the carriers of this opposition.

614 In ceremonies the role of the male tapir is played by
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Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge, the female tapir is played by Baitogogo, a lineage of the Black Aroroe, and the baby tapir by Aroya Kurireu, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. This is a very interesting case which seems to differ from the normal pattern. Baitogogo, one of the most important if not the most important of the lineages of the Bororo tribe, impersonates the female tapir, while Butore Agadu, the least prominent of the three lineages, impersonates the male tapir. This is not an isolated incident. There are a few other cases in which important items are impersonated by less important clan members. But in each of these cases the Bororo can give a reasonable explanation for the exception. In this example, at the time when Ki Bakororo and Jakorari were distributing the representations of the tapirs among their yorubodare (alliés), Butore Agadu was having an affair with Baitogogo's wife, who herself belonged to the Kiye clan. In giving the representation of the male tapir to Butore Agadu, Ki Bakororo acknowledged him as a true male and at the same time shamed Baitogogo, who could not take proper care of his wife, Ki Bakororo's sister. The yorubodare relationship between Baitogogo and Ki Bakororo was not spoiled by this act. They exchanged many other items and representations. It was just one of Ki Bakororo's many jokes, for which he is quite famous.

A good example of things going according to the rules is the ceremonial performance of okoge (a fish similar to salmon). Kaigu, a lineage of the subclan of the older broth-

614 796 ers of the Bokodori Echerae, owns all *okoge kurireuge* (big *okoge*). Kaigu gives the representation of one *okoge eimejera* (one chief of *okoge*) to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge; the representation of the other *okoge eimejera* is given to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge; the representation of *okoge aredu* (female *okoge*) is given to Koge Enogwa Tabowu. The lineage of Koge Enogwa Tabowu, as we know, was alternately classified as belonging to the subclans of the Black, the Red, and the "in the middle" Ivadududoge. The younger brothers Bokodori Echerae own the rest of *okoge*, all *okoge kugurireuge* (small *okoge*), and give their representation to all less important lineages of the Ivagududoge.

614 301 [561] Differences between the subclans of older and younger brothers are also expressed through the medium of ornaments. The Bororo love to talk about ornaments, and examples of subclan differences are numerous. I will mention only few of them.

The Ivagududoge own a labret called *ararureu*. It is a string of regularly cut pieces of shell. The *ararureu* of the Black Ivagududoge is long and is made with large pieces of shell, while the *ararureu* of the Red Ivagududoge is short and the pieces of shell are small.

The festive bow of the Apiborege, called *ikuye ika*, is ornamented with painted rings made of leaves of babassu palm. The rings on the bow of the Big Apiborege are broad and widely spaced, the rings on the bow of the Small Apiborege

614 are narrow and close to each other. The festive bow of the
301 Ivagududoge, Jakomea ika, is similarly ornamented with suc-
[561] cessive rings of red and yellow feathers. Again the broad
rings on the bow distinguish the Black Ivagududoge from their
younger brothers, whose bow has narrower rings. Thus, the
length of ornaments or the spacing of designs on objects is
another feature which distinguishes subclans.

614 The festive bows of many clans are ornamented with long
237 colored feathers. If all the feathers are red, the bow be-
411 longs to the subclan of older brothers; if red and yellow
822 feathers are mixed, the bow belongs to the subclan of younger
[561] brothers. This is the case with Aturua ika, Meriri ika, Pai
ika, and Kudora ika of the Paiwoe, Arigao ika of the Ivagu-
614 dudoge, etc. The same division of colors is characteristic
822 of other ornamental objects. If the colors used are black
301 and red, the objects painted black belong to the more im-
portant subclan, those painted red to the less important
one. Head ornaments made of cut pieces of snails attached
to a cotton band belong to the Aroroe. The band of the Big
Aroroe is painted black, that of the Small Aroroe is red.

614 The color red is sometimes the prerogative of Black
822 subclans and sometimes of Red subclans, depending on which
other color it stands in opposition to. Compared to black,
red is less important; compared to yellow, it is more important. Colors used in the Bororo ornaments are hierarchically ordered from black to white:

614 choreu - kujagureu or urugureu - ekureu - kigadureu or tororeu
822 black - ——— red ——— - yellow - ——— white

822 Black always belongs to older brothers; but if red and yellow
[561] or red and white are in opposition, then red belongs to older
brothers. Mixture of colors also follows the same order.
Black is more important than the mixture of black and red,
which is more important than pure red, etc. Occasionally the
black-white opposition is used for items which are distinguished by different colors outside of ceremonial domain.
[796] For example: fresh palm leaves are kaworureu (blue or green),
dry palm leaves are ekureu (yellow), but when the same leaves
are used in ceremonies as festive skirts, the fresh leaves
become toro choreu (black skirt), which belongs to the Black
Kiye, and the dry leaves become toro kigadureu (white skirt),
which belongs to the Red Kiye.

822 Yet another distinction between older and younger broth-
614 ers is made by the presence or absence of certain ornamental
237 components or by the number of these components. Avogodori
[561] ika, a trumpet of the Black Apiborege, is not only adorned
[825] exclusively with red feathers but has on its ends and in the
middle two long feathers of kurugugwa (a kind of hawk). The
Avogodori ika of the Red Apiborege is ornamented with red and
yellow feathers and has only one feather of kurugugwa at its
ends and in the middle. Batagaje, a crown made of black
feathers of cormorant, is the property of many clans. The
batagaje of the Black Paiwoe is black with two stripes of
yellow feathers, that of the Red Paiwoe has only one yellow

822 stripe. The same distinction is made between the crown of
614 the Black Aroroe and that of the Red, except that in this
237 case the stripes are red instead of yellow. In addition,
the Black Aroroe have added to their crown a horn made of a
long cormorant feather, which is missing from the crown of
their younger brothers.

614 It has been mentioned before that the Bororo do not like
to talk about Bakorokudu (Badajeba Chebegiwu) and Akaruyo
Bokodori (Badajeba Chobugiwu) in terms of the older-younger
brother relationship because of the differential value that
it would put on the activities they command. On the other
hand, in many contexts these activities *are* differently
valued, and additional data show that the two brothers are
614 not equal. First of all, they received their prerogatives
773 and their chiefly status from Baitogogo (Black Aroroe) and
Boroge (Black Apiborege). Of the two, Baitogogo is clearly
defined as the older in many myths and stories. Most of
[301] the time only the deeds of Baitogogo are reported. He was
[304] the one who taught the Bororo to perforate their lips, their
ears, and their noses so that they could insert ornaments.
[291] He taught them how to cover their nakedness with the penis
sheath in the initiation ceremony, and he ordered them to
live in peace. He was the first chief, and all important
cultural acts were done first by him. At the end of any
story relating his greatness, the Bororo usually add that
Boroge did just the same (*Boroge rore ino jamedu*). Baitogogo
was also the first Bakororo, and Boroge the first Itubore.

614 Bakororo, chief of the village of the dead situated on the
773 West, is the older brother of Itubore, who is chief of the
[769] village of the dead on the East. Then the Tugarege gave
their prerogatives to the Echerae. Baitogogo gave all of his
possessions to Bakorokudi; Boroge gave his to Akaruyo Bokodori.

614 This is not the only evidence that the Badajebage
796 Chebegiwuge should be considered as the older brothers and
the Badajebage Chobugiwuge as the younger ones. Most of the
ceremonial performances given to them divided them in the
same way. The Ivagududoge gave *tugo choreu* or *imedu* (the
black or male arrow) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, and *tugo*
kujagureu or *aredu* (the red or female arrow) to the Badajebage
[825] Chobugiwuge. The Aroroe gave *bakuguma choreu* (the black falcon)
to the Chebegiwuge, and the white falcon to the Chobugiwuge.
[825] The Apiborege gave *aroe echeba choreu* (the black harpy
eagle) to the Badajebage Chebegiwuge, *aroe echeba tororeu* (the
white harpy eagle) to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, and similarly
they gave *parabara eimejera* (the chief of the wild
tree-ducks) to the Chebegiwuge and *parabara onaregedu* (the
young wild tree-duck) to the Chobugiwuge. There are several
exceptions to this pattern, but the Bororo again feel compelled
614 to explain them by some particular circumstances. We
621 paid more attention to these two clans because Bakorokudu
181 and Akaruoy Bokodori are entitled to give orders for different
communal activities. Bakorokudu gives orders for ceremonies,
songs, and the feast of the spirits. Akaruyo Bokodori

614 gives orders for a communal hunt or fishing. The first one
621 commands activities to be performed in the men's house or on
181 the village plaza; the second one commands activities performed outside of the village. The first commands ceremonial, sacred activities; the second commands economic, profane activities. Here again we find a homologous relationship between older brother and male ancestor and younger brother and female ancestor expressed through the opposition between center and periphery; activities within the village and activities outside the village; the village and the forest; the men's house in the center of the village, as the place for making ornaments and performing ceremonies, and the women's houses around it, as the place where everyday life is carried on.

622 When they talk about the communal hunt, the Bororo say
[173] that in the past the headmen went with the hunters, but they
[224] themselves did not hunt; they only prevented their subjects from quarreling with each other; they kept order and peace and saw to it that the hunt went smoothly. In the village plaza and in the men's house, the leaders' place is in the
[70] center; the commoners sit around them. In addition to commanding the hunt, Akaruyo Bokodori is associated with war and killing. From stories and songs he is known as killer
[728] of many Bororo. Bakorokudu, on the other hand, is the peacemaker, a trait which he inherited from Baitogogo. Baitogogo is famous not only for his wisdom, but also for his mercy toward enemies. There are many stories about Baitogogo sav-

622 ing the lives of the last enemy couple so that they could multiply again. According to most of my informants, an alternative name for Baitogogo is Kaboreu, but one informant strongly disagreed with this opinion. "Kaboreu," he said, "fought many wars and Baitogogo just one, so they cannot be the same person." In clear opposition to Baitogogo and Tadugo (another great chief belonging to the Black Ivagududoge, who does not seem ever to have participated in any major battle) are two of their younger brothers: Birimodo of the same subclan of Baitogogo and Aroya Kurireu of the same subclan of Tadugo. They are known as great killers and fierce warriors, tugoboigarege par excellence.

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613 In some Bororo ceremonies many of the oppositions are exhibited at the same time. Marido is one of these ceremonies. Ki Bakororo, the most important lineage of the Black Kiye, owns marido imedu (male wheel) and gives its performance to Tadugo, a lineage of the Black Ivagududoge. Jakorari, another lineage of the Black Kiye, but less important than Ki Bakororo, owns marido aredu (female wheel) and gives its performance to Butore Agadu, a lineage of the Red Ivagududoge. Thus, everything is in accord with the usual pattern: the male object belongs to the older brother and it is given to another older brother; the female object belongs to the younger brother and it is given to another younger brother. Marido imedu is a big wheel and can also be called kurireu (big); marido aredu is smaller and occasionally is called kugurireu (small). The ornaments on top

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[562]

The ornaments on top
796 of the big wheel are black (*kuje bo*—curassow feathers), the
613 ornaments on top of the smaller wheel are white (*kiogwagiri*-
[231] bird down). Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori play *ika* above
the wheels. Bakorokudu plays it above *marido imedu*, Akaruyo
Bokodori above *marido aredu*. The spirits who carry the big
wheel come from Bakororo (the older brother who presides
over the place of the dead on the West); the spirits carrying
the smaller wheel come from Itubore (the younger brother
who presides over the place of the dead on the East). Finally,
Bakorokudu lines up the spirits from the West on the
Bakororo side (West) of the men's house, and Akaruyo Bokodori
lines up the spirits from the East on the Itubore side (East)
of the men's house.

614 Many other oppositions are patterned in a similar way.
192 We have already seen that adjectives distinguish personal
names of subclans. *Choreu* (black), *kaworu* (blue or green),
kurireu (big), and *are* (owner) are added to the names of members
of Black subclans; *kujagureu* (red), *ekureu* (yellow),
kugurireu (small), and *oro* (young) are added to the names of
821 members of Red subclans. *Meri* (the sun) and *Ari* (the moon)
are major protagonists of many Bororo stories, and they are
616 conceived as older and younger brothers. There are stories
823 about the creation of the rivers according to which the waters
[773] created by the Tugarege have died, while those created
by the Echerae are still flowing. For this reason the banks
of the rivers belong to the Echerae and are divided between
the subclans of older and younger brothers: "The long sandy

616 beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane
823 belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts
belong to the younger."[1]

534 Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most
important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. Ika, a
long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo.
The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double
calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for
[562] rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed
533 to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. Ika
534 is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind
of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement
correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or
accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do
not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal
background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is
[825] also significant. Ika is elongated and narrow, often with
[831] one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate
its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of
the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo
myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes
joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo
often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka—
600 the curves of a narrow waist. Ika is also the name for two

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[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

Ika is also the name for two
411 other masculine Bororo objects, the canoe and the bow. The
501 bow itself is opposed as male symbol to the baku (straw tray),
415 which is a female symbol. When a man returns home from hunt-
224 ing, his sister or his wife will take his bow and arrows and
796 put them on a baku. During the ceremony in which the repre-
562 sentative of someone deceased is chosen, the chosen man wears
a headdress and carries a bow in his hand if he represents
796 a deceased man. If he represents a deceased woman he wears
562 a skirt and has a baku tied with strings around his neck and
hanging over his chest.

772 Older brother and younger brother, black and red, big and small, the village and the forest, man and woman are just a few of the numerous oppositions in which the Bororo classify the universe. The common denominator of many of these oppositions is the basic Lévi-Straussian distinction between culture and nature. Perhaps this distinction is important in many other societies, or in all, but there are few societies which make it so pervasive and obvious. In this chapter we have put emphasis on differences, but we should never forget that from another perspective (Relationship A) the two brothers are basically equivalent.

C. Relationships of Reciprocity

571 The relationships between father and son, husband and
593 wife, and yorubodare (allié) and yorubodare are reciprocal
613 and symmetrical. A man and his son or a man and his wife
616 should ideally belong to those lineages of opposite moieties
which in the mythical past exchanged ceremonial gifts and thus

571 established a lasting yorubodare relationship (alliance).
593 They continue to exchange ceremonies, representations, orna-
613 616 ments, useful objects, food, initiators, women, and representatives of the dead. If a man marries a woman who is not from the lineage of his yorubodare, this actual relationship is considered to be only accidental. The lineages of his yorubodare will still be considered his ideal fathers, his ideal sons, and his ideal wives.

The Bororo like to talk about the establishment of the yorubodare relationships, and my field notes are full of examples:

> 571 "This Baitogogo threw the string of Aije
> 613 Bakororo (bull-roarer called Bakororo) around the
> 539 head of Bakorokudu. He threw on him also baku-
> 773 gumae eimejera (the chief of the bakugumae, a kind
> 616 of falcon), its paint, its skirt, and its headdress. He threw on him also tamigi eimejera (the chief of the tamigi, horned screamer) and its paint. He also gave Bakororo's ornament, the ke (bat, and also an ornament resembling a huge racket), and his ika (trumpet) to Bakorokudo. That is what Baitogogo did to Bakorokudu. After this he called Bakorokudu yorubodare. Bakorokudu gave Baitogogo Iwararege eimejera (the chief of the Iwararege, a star constellation), his calabash and his headdress. He threw on him the jaguar skin, ornament of Meridoge, and his headdress. That is what Bakorokudu did to his yorubodare Baitogogo. After this they called each other yorubodare."[1]

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[1] "Awu Baitogogo ure Aije Bakororo uvuriya ure barigu Bakorokudu aoto. Ure Bakugumae eimejera ure imo irogodu, imo toro, imo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure tamigi eimejera ure imo irogodure barigu aoto jamedu. Ure Bakororo imo ke, uku ika ure maku ai jamedu, Bakorokudu ai jamedu. Oinore Baitogogo rore Bakorokuduji. Du rekodajire akore iyorubodare ino Bakorokuduji. Ure Bakorokudu ure Iwararege eimejera uwabo, imo pariko ure maku Baitogogo ai jamedu. Ure Meridoge ekuye adugo biri, eimo pariko ure barigu aoto jamedu. Oinore Bakorokudu rore tuyorubodare Baitogogoji. Nowu inodu ji pagire egore iyorubodare ino pui."

773 These items, however, are not all of what Baitogogo (Black
616 Aroroe) and Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge) exchanged.
571 The list of the items that Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu is
much longer, and I cite it as an illustration of the variety
of items that could be exchanged:

301 Bakororo and his paraphernalia:
539 imo ke (an ornament resembling a huge racket,
293 which is worn during the Ke ceremony)
237 uku ika (a musical instrument)
309 pariko (a headdress made of macaw feathers)
302 baragara (an animal bone which is used to perforate
292 the lower lip of a male child in the naming
ceremony)
okwadawu "meriri bokodaga" (one kind of labret)
biyadawu "chugui biri" (earrings made out of a bird
breast)
enotadawu "kurugugwa o burugo" (a nose ornament
made of two hawk feathers)

Bakugumae eimejera and his paraphernalia:
imo irogodu (body painting)
imo toro (a skirt made of palm leaves that is
worn during ceremonies)
imo pariko (a headdress)

773 Tamigi eimejera and his paraphernalia:

616 imo toro (a ceremonial skirt)

571 imo irogodu (body painting)

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302 Aije Bakororo (a bull-roarer called Bakororo)

534 Boe eimejera (chief of the village, i.e., Baitogogo gave to Bakorokudu his position as chief)

Songs:

Aroe Enogwage Paru, Manno Paru, Aije Paru, Jure Paru, Roya Kurireu, Kiege Barege, Juredoge, Aroe Ereru.

While doing my research I could easily understand the exchange of ornaments and representations and the waiving of chiefly duties, but I had some difficulty understanding how Bakororo and Itubore could be given away. As the Bororo explained to me: at first Baitogogo was Bakororo and Boroge was Itubore, then they gave them away to Bakorokudu, who is now Bakororo, and to Akaruyo Bokodori, who is now Itubore. 769 Bakororo and Itubore are the chiefs of the villages of the dead. Bakorokudu and Akaruyo Bokodori not only impersonate these mythical beings in the ceremonies, but when they die they themselves will be Bakororo and Itubore. How was it 115 possible to give away part of one's own identity? I took my problem to my informant Capitão Enrique. He thought about it for a while, then he said:

> Look, you do not have a knife. I, I do have a knife. But I want to give it to you. So I give it to you. Therefore I do not have a knife anymore. Now you have a knife. Boroge was Itubore.

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> But he gave it [viz., the social identity of 'Itubore'] away to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now he is not 'Itubore' anymore. Boroge gave 'Itubore' to Akaruyo Bokodori. Now Akaruyo Bokodori is 'Itubore.'[1]

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Some items of exchange have many class members and serve to establish a yorubodare relationship with many subclans of the opposite moiety. Examples are the adugodoge (jaguars) belonging to the Badajebage Chobugiwuge, the okoge (variety of salmon) belonging to the Bokodori Echerae, and the Aije (water spirits represented by the bull-roarers) belonging to the Aroroe. Baitogogo was the first to see the Aije, but he gave some of them to his younger brothers so that all the Aroroe clan could participate in the yorubodare exchange:

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Bakororo gave:

- Aije choreu (black Aije) to Jerigi Otojiwu (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)
- Aije kujagureu (red Aije) to Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)
- Aije baru-baru (Aije of the horizon) to Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)
- Aije akirireu (down Aije) to Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

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[1] "A tariga karegare. Imi, i tariga rema. Mare itaidu [illegible] ure maku akai. Kodire i [illegible] maku akai. Kodire ichare ire maku akai. Kodire ichare itariga kare ema pugeje. Akire ichare atarigare ema pugeje. Borogere Itubore rema. Ma ichare ure maku tu piji Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Kodire ichare Itubore kare ema pugeje. Boroge ure Itubore maku Akaruyo Bokodori ai. Akaruyo Bokodori ichare Ituborere ema pugeje."

773 616 Aije bokodori (armadillo Aije) to Bokodori Baru or Bokodori Akiri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

571 [776] Aije Bakororo (Bakororo Aije) to Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[776] Birimódo gave:

Aije ukigareu (horned Aije) to Kurugugwari Pijiwu (Kiye Chobugiwuge)

Aije jaiworeu (Aije with a band in the middle) to Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

[776] Mano Kurireu gave:

Aije onaregedu ("child") to Inokuri (Bokodori Echerae Chebegiwuge)

Aije aredu ("female") to Arua (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

[614] The Aroroe entered into a yorubodare relationship with ten different lineages by giving Aije to them. All the Echerae subclans are represented except Kiye Chebegiwuge, and again the Bororo explain the exception in a story, this one telling how Baitogogo at first gave Aije choreu (black Aije) to Ki Bakororo, but then Ki Bakororo, as usual, started to quarrel, after which Baitogogo took it back and gave it to Jerigi Otojiwu.

571 616 614 613 As a second example I list the lineages with which the clan of the Ivagududoge established yorubodare relationships (alliance). I do not claim that the list is complete, but in each instance my notes givn at least one item which was ex-

571 changed:
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Tadugo's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Bakorokudu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge).

Aroya Kurireu's yorubodare are:

Kuje Barujeba (Badajebage Chobugiwuge)

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Mamuyawuge Echeba (Enogujeba Echerae)

Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge)

Boyari Pijiwu (Kiye Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge).

Butore Agadu's yorubodare are:

Akaruyo Bokodori (Bakoro Echerae)

Bokodori Baru (Bokodori Echerae Boyadada)

Jakorari (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ki Bakororo (Kiye Chebegiwuge)

Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae).

Yorubodare of the Small Ivagududoge are:

Small Bokodori Echerae

Small Kiye.

571 616 613 We see that there is a tendency for the most important lineages to contract yorubodare relationships with the most important lineages of the opposite moiety, and for less important lineages to contract these relationships with lesser lineages. On the other hand it would be quite impossible to make an exact list of all the yorubodare relationships existing among the Bororo. The problem lies in the fact that younger brothers, if necessary, can be considered equivalent to their older brothers (according to relationship A) and can claim after them the same yorubodare ties. In this way all lineages, even the least important, do have some yorubodare relationships.

Two yorubodare relationships also exist within the Echerae moiety. One is between Kaigu (Bokodori Echerae Chobugiwuge) and Mamuyawuge Echeba iturawore eimejera (the chief of the iturawore, a kind of armadillo) and received in exchange adugo kujagureu (the red jaguar). The other relationship is between Ocha Kudureu (Badajebage Chebegiwuge, Echerae) and Badajeba Kudoro (Kiye Chebegiwuge), but the gifts which they exchanged are not known. Therefore, one informant said that really the yorubodare were Nowapayepa or Burea Gurumaga, a close younger brother of Ocha Kudureu, and Ki Bakororo, a close older brother of Badajeba Kudoro. Nowapayepa had given to Ki Bakororb at least one representation to perform: Bakarae eimejera (the chief of the spirits
582 Bakarae). Being yorubodare allows these two pairs of lin-
881 eages to intermarry and exchange initiators among themselves, though they are from the same moiety.

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies,
[579] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot
[881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator,
[582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should
[768] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be
[773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

> 571 cause their Echerae husbands and wives would quar-
> 616 rel with them."[1]

613 Still, even today marriages within a moiety are quite
773 frequent. Of twenty marriages in Pobojari five were between
582 members of the same moiety; one of these was between members
614 of the same clan. The Bororo say that when this happened in
833 the past, the men from the opposite moiety would take the
173 woman living with her moiety brother into the men's house,
where she would be sexually available to all of them.
835 Furthermore, though marriage with a moiety sister is an of-
582 fense to the males of the opposite moiety, sexual relations
192 are not. There is no special word for incest in the Bororo language. There is nothing horrifying in having sexual relations with a classificatory sister, and no supernatural punishment is to be expected for doing it. As for sexual relations with a real sister, or with a mother, the Bororo say only that it does not happen. It did happen one night in our village during a drinking party. A man and a woman, children of the same mother but different fathers, had sexual rela-
828 tions with each other. The only comment I could get from the
273 villagers the next day was that the case was quite unusual,

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[1] "Ivagududoge remawuge, Orarimogodoge remawuge ekodo chaje. Echerae emedu kare etada. Duwure okiwa rema, kachuoro rema. Du wure okiwareu rema, pobureu rema, chiwaje rema, kuje rema, korao rema, kido rema. Du kodire eigoyare bu rogu remawu botudo t botudo t je. Mare kodure boiwugere erore oino jiwugerema ero kare ino, epagudure turo mode ino pui duji, awu tugoge, tuvire Echerae ekorigodu mode pudui duji kodi."

835 but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for
[829] their actions. I could not detect any great concern over
[773] what had happened.

773 Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical
183 past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man
835 will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If
[616] he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty
in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From
myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both
partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four
cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage
Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as
yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye
and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men
slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with
[614] his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification
for their intraclan relations in the story about
Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when
[614] he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve
the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member
of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky,
the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded
as their ancestor.

773 The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it
183 was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae
835 were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells
616 of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

773 father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The
183
835 ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations
616 with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with
[571] respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare,
[582] you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

553 From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same
*601 name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and
828 Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other
829 hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of
[559] status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like
yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect
[622] basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado
553 (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo
828 stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons
829 with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the
538 second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very
little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

In a society where the majority
553 of the terms of address are non-reciprocal, perhaps the func-
828 tion of these stories is to create and reinforce the idea of
829 [181] the possibility of reciprocity and equality.

553 Another instance of reciprocal address results from the
881 initiation ceremonies. All the boys initiated at the same
time are given a common name, which they later use in address-
*[601] ing each other. This name supersedes any other term, past
or future, resulting from their kinship relationships. In
Pobojari there were two survivors of the last initiation held
there. Though they were sociologically related in many ways,
they addressed each other reciprocally as Kuruye. Kuruye was
the name given to all the initiates on that occasion. Other
names that could have been chosen are Bachereuge, Adorodoge,
[561] Kunanae, and Inojiye. Though nobody ever recorded the ex-
istence of age classes among the Bororo, the existence of
this group of boys bound together by the common experience
of becoming full members of adult society at the same time,
and among whom all kinship terminology is abolished in favor
of equality, clearly points to the possible existence of age
groups in the past. This would not be too surprising in
view of the close cultural similarities between the Bororo
and the other Gê tribes.

Chapter XI

CULTURE AND NATURE: AROE AND BOPE

593 772 Many of the relationships between older and younger brothers show the older brother associated with culture and the younger brother associated with nature. Since older and younger brothers are hierarchically related as superior and inferior, we would expect culture and nature to stand in similar hierarchical relationship. Instead, as will be shown in this chapter, culture and nature are not valued as superior and inferior. Their characteristics can be compared, their features can be contrasted, but in most cases culture and nature are not directly related and do not interact with each other.

772 616 The opposition between culture and nature does not affect the relationship of reciprocity between yorubodare, i.e., between moieties. Neither of the two moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature. As we shall see in greater detail later, both moieties can claim some cultural characteristics, and both moieties can claim some natural characteristics.

772 Finally, culture and nature, though not in hierarchical relationship, remain in sharp opposition; and yet from another perspective they could be regarded as equivalent: they

772 occupy the same space, undifferentiated in the case of nature, differentiated in the case of culture.

772 775 776 [82] [128] The Bororo express the difference between culture and nature through the concepts of Aroe and Bope. Aroe are the souls of the dead, spirits, items seen and named for the first time. Bope is the spirit of nature, nature itself. In the following pages I will describe the characteristics of Aroe-culture and Bope-nature, taking as the starting point a Bororo myth which tells about the first human village and which points out many of the contrasting features between culture and nature.

> 772 773 539 The first true village (bororo) was arigao bororo (the dogs' village). No person cleared it. It was already cleared for the dogs. But its name was not lost. The Bororo took its name and applied it to any place, any site, any plaza that they themselves cleared.
>
> The first village that had a name was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage saw it, but they did not recognize it. They thought that it was just an ordinary clearing. But then a red macaw came there. He circled, circled, circled above their heads, and while circling he said, "Arara, arara, arara." Then he came nearer to the earth, to the people, and while flying he said, "Echera, echera." Then suddenly he plunged among them and said, "This is Echera Bororo," and flew away. The Badajebage said, "Ah, it is Echera Bororo indeed. He came and told us the name. We were staying on it, but we did not know it. But he came and told us the name."[1]

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[1] "Bororo ure t rugadu t jewureo (arigao bororo). Boe eigoya karega ere akudo. Arigaodoge etaire akudodure. Mare iyere okwa kare tt boe eda, boe emuga, boere akudo tujewu, tuyeda, tumuga, tuwororo kaere boere iye aru kuri mato, ture akudowu tuwowroro kae.

Iyegidure ure Echera bororo rema. Boe erudu nure ji, 772 **Commentary:**

1. Village vs. jungle; central vs. peripheral; civil vs. wild; day vs. night.

772 The Bororo call themselves boe. The term bororo refers
361 not to the people but to the ceremonial plaza situated west
82 of the men's house. It also refers to the center of the
[101] village and, by extension, to the village itself. A place
[562] cleared of trees and brush, in contrast to its surroundings,
[775] the plaza is the setting of the most important ceremonies
and the domain of men and Aroe—the spirits or souls—which
the men themselves become when performing ceremonies. It
[772] is a social, not a wild, place. Outside of the village is
[222] the domain of the animals and Bope. Secular activities such
[224] as hunting and gathering are performed there; and big trees
with their dark shadows are the favorite places of Bope.
Darkness and night are Bope's time. During the night the
[551] Bororo do not like to wander outside their village. And
even in the village people should not be called by name during the night. Aroe are not bound to any particular time

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[773] Badajebage rema. Mare erudu iwa kare ji. Du etobeadure
[537] baeku paga t jewu rakuduye. Du kaere ichare nabure aregodure. Ure tayado, tayado, tayado etaoji: 'Arara, arara, arara," akore, nabure akore tui tayadodu tabo, etaoji du tabo. Tuburedugodui jetu moto kae, etae, du tabore ichare akore: 'Echera, echera,' ino tugoduji. Ichare ekurure kuri pa bukeje. Akore: 'Echera borororeo.' Du pijire ichare uture. Du tabore ichare Badajebage egore: 'Ah, Echera bororo u radewo. Aregodure kodire ichare ure paviye oino iyeji. Pagirema paedu pagare u mode tu bukeje, paerudu iwa bokwa tabo. Kodi karega ichare ure paviye oino iyeji."

Aroe are not bound to any particular time
772 of day, but all the ceremonies are performed during the day.
361 Even in the middle of the jungle the Bororo like to think
82 about themselves as being in the center of the village. The
[775] village is their center of orientation, the center of the social universe, with clans and lineages around it in their determined places. Wherever he may be, a Bororo always sees himself as if he were on the plaza. He carries it within
[621] himself. In the jungle, too, he will point directions in reference to this social arrangement: this is in the direction of Itubore; this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chobugiwuge, this is in the direction of Paiwoe Chebegiwuge, and so on. Every human being is the center of the village, the center of the world.

2. Human vs. animal; asexual vs. sexual

The first village was arigao bororo, the dogs' village.
[773] It was cleared for the dogs; then, according to another myth, the Ivagududoge saw it and enlarged it because it was too small for all the clans that came there, one after another. Dogs and Bororo are blended together. The Ivagududoge barked, and in this way they attracted other dogs (clans) to come. The first "human" village was Echera Bororo. The Badajebage, who first saw Echera Bororo, are not mixed with animals; they are human beings.

772 The distinction between human and animal, and assexu-
825 ality and sexuality, is one of the basic distinctions be-
831
775 tween Aroe and Bope. Aroe have human shapes and are covered
776 with colorful ornaments and feathers. Aroe live in an
[301]
[237]

772 asexual world: there are no female Aroe, and consequently
825 831 maleness is not an essential attribute of Aroe. Bope, in
775 contrast, takes the shape of a big snake or that of a hairy
776 man with bushy beard. He has a wife. There cannot be such
[302] a thing as asexual nature. In an effort to be less animal-
like the Bororo carefully pluck all their body hair.

3. Named vs. unnamed

103 Echera Bororo was the first village with a name. The
expression arigao bororo, the dogs' village, simply says
that the dogs were there, but the village itself was name-
less. Arigao bororo is a generic designation, not a proper
name. Any Bororo village is called bororo or arigao bororo.
82 Naming is considered by the Bororo as one of the most impor-
772 tant cultural acts. Only when named do things become part
of the human universe.

773 Bororo myths and stories report numerous examples of
82 naming, the act of which is always performed by cultural
[769] heroes. Baitogogo was the most important cultural hero and
later became Bakororo, the chief of one of the villages of
[291] the dead. He not only dressed the Bororo and organized the
society but also gave names to all the animals, fish, and
plants. The first Aroe were Bokodori Echerae and a Tugarege
[301] man, Tadugo (Ivagududoge). The Bokodori Echerae made the
first ornaments (necklaces) and gave them their names.
Tadugo took his children, the legendary twins Bakororodoge,
for a walk to teach them the names of things. The twins
themselves killed different man-eating animals and gave

773 them their names. The learning of names continues even when
82 people pass away and become Aroe. Relatives who have died
775 previously show the newly deceased around the land of Aroe
and teach them the names of the different places.

4. Organization vs. creation; liquid food vs. meat; lack of cannibalism vs. cannibalism

825 The red macaw that named the village Echera Bororo and
775 macaws in general are Aroe par excellence. The most important
237 material for ornaments are macaws' feathers, and the
301 ornaments are used in the ceremonies in which the Bororo themselves
are Aroe. The macaws are "dressed" in multicolored
ornaments (feathers). Transformed into macaws, the dead
people, Aroe, return to visit their relatives and friends.
773 The first spirits, the Bokodori Echerae, lived in a hut made
775 of macaws' feathers and called *Chibae e yari* "nest of the
825 red macaws." They spent their time making ornaments, and
when they decided to abandon this life, they threw themselves
into the fire and became different species of macaws.

82 Naming things, wearing the penis sheath, and making
775 and wearing ornaments are all cultural activities. Aroe are
773 the organizers of the cultural order. Baitogogo and Boroge,
616 who later became Bakororo and Itubore, the chiefs of the villages
614 of Aroe, organized the Bororo society into moieties,
613 clans, subclans and lineages, and established *yorubodare* relationships
among them. The legendary twins Bakororoge, who
are also called Bakororo and Itubore, killed *aroe echeba* (the
harpy eagle), *kuruguqwa* (a kind of hawk), *buyogoe* (piranhas),

82 and adugo (jaguar), all man-eating animals until then. They
775 said to aroe echeba:

> 773 [539] [From now on] you are not going to do bad things. You are not going to eat women, men, and children. Deer, peccary, curassow, guan, tinamou, riwodo and metugo [two birds] are your food. You are not human. You are the Harpy Eagle.[1] And so Bakororodoge named the harpy eagle.

The interdiction against eating human flesh, the assignment of animals to their proper place, and the act of giving them names all go together—they are all cultural acts.

776 Bope on the other hand is the creator. He created the
773 birds and he created the food they eat. He created the
776 animals and what they eat.[2] Most of the big animals and fish
262 and many of the important root crops and fruits are Bope's food (Bope uke) and must be offered to him through an intermediary before consumption. A list of 31 of these animals and plants can be found in the Enciclopedia Bororo I: 241-
[761] 243. Eating these animals without offering them first to Bope results in the death of the hunter or of some member of
776 his family: Bope "eats" them. Most deaths are attributed
761 to Bope; if a fellow tribesman kills through sorcery, he is
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[1] "Ro pegareboe aki karega. Okwagere aredu, imedu, nogedrogu, nogwaredrogu jiboe aki karega. Pobogore, juire, jugore, kujere, parigogore, kuwore, riwodore, metugore ake rema. Boe aki karega. Aroe Echeba akireo. Nowu Bakororodoge eigoyare ere iyedo oino aroe echebaji."

[2] "Ure awu kiogo barege ure ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe rogu botudo jamedu, e koje. Ure barege ewodudo, ure enogwagere jiboe botudo jamedu."

776 just a tool in Bope's hand. To see to it that his rules are
[761] enforced, Bope sends different kinds of birds and insects to
[797] spy on the Bororo. These are _makao_, _tuiwo_ _torogo_, _churugu-
[825] churugu_, _kadogwareu_ (different kinds of birds), and _ruke_
(flies). Bope is primarily a meat-eater; he even eats human
flesh. Aroe's primary foods are liquids (water, soups, and
[688] juices) and cooked food. Though they can also cause illness
or kill people, Aroe punish infractions of cultural rules--
they watch to see that the ceremonies are properly performed,
that the songs are sung correctly, that the women are not
present at the ceremonies forbidden to them.

776 Bope creates and Bope kills. In this sense every death
761 is natural, and with their keen sense of reciprocity the
825 Bororo respond by killing some of the personifications of
Bope: _adugo_, _aigo_, _aipobureu_, _aimeareu_ (varieties of felines),
ipochereu (a variety of mustelines), _okwa_, _riye_, _moribo_ (varieties of canines), _kugu_, _tagogo_ (varieties of owls), _makao_
(a variety of hawk), and _bakure_ (a carnivorous monkey). The
Bororo give several reasons why these animals are Bope. _a_.
They are rapacious, carnivorous animals. They eat the same
food that Bope eats, so Bope is fed through his animals and
[821] by the people through their offerings. _b_. They are night
animals and the night is Bope's time. _c_. Nobody ever sees
these animals dead; they are not eaten by other animals, and
they do not die, except when they are killed by people for
compensation (_mori_).

776 5. Human vs. non-human; mortal vs. eternal

Bope is not part of the human race. "He does not get sick, he does not get old, he does not die. He does not have a human mother. He does not have a mother, a father, a companion."[1] He is eternal.

775 Aroe, on the other hand, have their human mothers; they are the souls of the dead; they are the ancestors of the Bororo, i.e., the things first seen and named. In the after-life they have to go through different tests, and it may happen that they vanish completely over the precipice of Akarubo; they are mortal.

82 6. Conscious vs. unconscious; multiplicity vs. unity

775
776 The Badajebage were the first to see the plaza, but they did not become aware of it. To see something is not enough; it should be consciously perceived and named. Anything seen and named for the first time is Aroe. To see something and to give it a name is to isolate it from the continuity of amorphous, undifferentiated unconscious matter (Bope). It is a cultural process by which the universe is taken apart so that it can be comprehended. There are many names, there are many Aroe, but Bope is just one. Bope is one, yet he has a wife; and he and his wife are still conceived of as one. And he has children; and he and his wife and children

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[1] "Kogodu kare, pega kare, bi kare. Paje kare ji. Uche kare, uwo kare, metuya kare."

82 are still one. The sun is Bope, his younger brother the
775 moon is Bope, Burekoibo is Bope, jaguar, puma, ocelot are
776 Bope, but all of these are just different names for one Bope.

When recounting the deeds of the sun (Meri) and the moon (Ari), my informant said: "The sun did this, not the moon. But I think that they are not separated. What one does, the other does it too. They are just one."[1]

7. Earth vs. sky; meaningful speech vs. animal cry; singing vs. barking

Bope and Aroe occupy the same space. Aroe are everywhere; Bope too is everywhere: "Bope is in everything. There is not one thing in which Bope is not present."[2] On the other hand both Bope and Aroe have their more particular places. Bope lives in the sky, the Aroe are on the earth. Like the sun and the moon with which he is identified, Bope lives in the sky; the Aroe inhabit the villages of Bakororo (west) and Itubore (east). Coming from the sky to the earth in three steps, as he does in the preceding myth, the macaw is spatially making transition from nature to culture, from Bope to Aroe.

The same transition is made in the macaw's speech. First

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[1] "Meri rore oino, Ari ema karega. Mare imearudae mitodure Meri ro rema. Ekare tuginoi ma ero padure pu me keje. Kode pu ro mitodure erore ema. Oino."

[2] Awu Bope meture boe jamedu boe tada. Kodire iya metu kare t tada jiboe bokware."

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"—one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; arigao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties

772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773

	(Aroe) First spirits	(Bope) First beings
Echerae moiety	Bokodori Echerae (one clan)	Ki Bakororo (one man)
Tugarege moiety	Tadugo (one man)	Ivagududoge (one clan)

825 First beings, natural activities. The Ivagududoge, a
clan of the Tugarege moiety, were the first beings; and in
the shape of different kinds of ants they made the earth
on which Bope put rocks, trees, and animals. They were the
first to have bows and arrows and nets, and all the equip-
773 ment for hunting and fishing. But among the first beings
776 there was also one Echerae man, Ki Bakororo, in whom the
animal traits of the first beings found their strongest ex-
pression. Often he is identified with Bope. He was a sexual
being; he had many wives and children. Four of his sons
were famous warriors and killers, and they provided meat for
their father, who had a special predilection for penes,
vaginas, and breasts. He preferred to eat Bororo rather than
people from other tribes.

773 First spirits, cultural activities. The Bokodori Echerae,
775 a clan of the Echerae moiety, were the first Aroe. They lived
103 in a house made of macaws' feathers; they made the first orna-
825 ments, gave them names, and distributed them among the lin-
eages; and then, passing through the fire, they became macaws
themselves. But among the first spirits there was also one
Tugarege man, Tadugc. Tadugo was so much a spirit that he is

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
533 of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the impor-
tant Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)—personifications of Bope—are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are con-
sidered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae
moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
619 But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the
Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the
basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
361 Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the vil-
lages published by the Salesian missionaries before the
Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the
east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east,
and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

775 201; Colbacchini and Albisetti 1942: 34; Albisetti 1948: 7;
776 Albisetti 1953: 626). This layout is in agreement with the
616 description of the Marido ceremony, in which the Aroe led by
361 Akaruyo Bokodori (see page 158) come from the east and enter
776 the men's house through the Tugarege door, while the Aroe led
by Bakororo come from the west and enter through the Echerae
door. These examples seem to indicate that perhaps the two
moieties are not as equal as the Bororo like to say.

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase
in population and consequent clustering of the members of the
same lineage within a single village can motivate the less
important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other
places where they will be more appreciated and will have the
chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her
husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can
become more independent, but there is always the risk that
she and her children will in time be classified as younger
brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding
of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among
villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361
613 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-

177 cause the normal social and ceremonial life cannot be maintained;
178 b. women who belong to the same lineage but are not
613 able to trace their relationship genealogically unite under
[361] the same roof; c. when the more important lineages die out,
the less important ones take their places and names, basing
their claims on the fundamental equivalence of brothers.
[551] When a tribe is prospering, personal names are taken as lineage
names and the number of lineages grows. When a tribe is
shrinking, these names are taken to be just different names
for the same lineage and the number of lineages gets smaller.
613 However, it takes time for this new adjustment to take place;
626 as long as their contemporaries are alive, the lesser lineages
178 that assumed the names of their older brothers are
whispered to be impostors. Officially they are recognized
as what they claim to be, but behind their backs their "true"
origin is told. In Pobojari, of the 26 important lineages
mentioned on page 121, members of only seven lineages were
recognized as true descendants of great heroes; members of
five others were considered justified in their claims because
their names were interpreted as just different names
of important heroes; nobody claimed membership for five lineages;
and the claimants to membership in nine lineages were
considered impostors.

Let us consider a few examples. X claims to be Ki Bakororo, but he is "really" Toro Baru. He lived in the village of Aijeri before coming to Pobojari. There were many Kiye in Aijeri, but all of them were sons of Echerae, i.e., 613 they were descendants of intramoiety unions. X was the only 626 man with a Tugarege (Paiwoe) father. The Ivagududoge wanted 178 to perform Marido Paru, which should be done by Ki Bakororo. In the absence of any Ki Bakororo, they wanted as his substitute at least some true Kiyedu (i.e., Kiyedu with Tugarege father). So they chose X. After performing the Marido ceremony, the Bororo say, X thinks that he is Ki Bakororo. Another informant said that he laughed whenever the Bororo said that Y (♀) was a true Kaigu. She was my informant's father's sister, and his father was Porireu Biyagareu, a lineage very close to Kaigu, but not true Kaigu. He would laugh but would not say anything. If others wanted her to be true Kaigu, it was fine with him. The same informant became quite upset when I told him that many people said that his wife was [52] not true Badajeba Kudoro, but Tuiwo Torogo. He said that he himself had called her jokingly tuiwo torogo (a small bird) because she talked so much. The other people had probably overheard him and started to think that she was Tuiwo Torogo. Instead, she was true Badajeba Kudoro, as could be seen from her proper name Atugoreudo, which belonged only to the great Kiye: Ki Bakororo, Badajeba Kudoro, and Jakorari. "You can't even joke any more," he concluded, shaking his head.

553 Another possibility open to a man without descendants 614 (sororal nephews) or clan brothers is to give a name to a child from another clan. He will have to give the boy some names from the boy's own clan, but he will give him his own names too. In the future the boy can take on the ceremonies

553 and lineage responsibilities of his namegiver. A man could
614 give a name even to an adult man from another clan if he (the namegiver) like him, did not have other male relatives within his own clan, and felt too feeble to perform ceremonial duties himself. Today, successful hunters and good singers have accumulated ceremonial duties belonging to several different lineages, from several different clans.

178 Another interesting thing has happened with the decline
561 in population. Women and children have become participants
562 in ceremonies previously reserved to men. They are still
796 barred from some secret ceremonies, but in the ceremonies in which they had previously been only spectators, they have now become performers. Women and small children carried on the
772 shoulders of their fathers have become Aroe. Just as the symbolic opposition between older and younger brothers has become attenuated under the new circumstances, so have the homologous oppositions between male and female, and adult and child.

178 As we can see, the possibilities for adjustment to newly arising circumstances are built into the structure of the
000 Bororo society. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the Bororo culture still survives after prolonged contact with civilization. The people are dying out, but those remaining are taking their place and carrying on. There is little doubt that the last Bororo will be the descendant of many important heroes.

772 Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture

561 The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

844 787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is

841
787
764 denied water burial.[1]

553 If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into
787 the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the
772 meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature;
533 it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It
is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially
307 the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child
237 is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries.
593 She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of
152 them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is
534 also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the
775 arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the
Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo
304 can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are
593 done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given
614 to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes
a member of the human race, but particularly a member
of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society.
787 After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams
533 were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to
764 put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

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[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be
buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
881 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
616 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his
571 yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned,
the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye
(dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The
society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its
members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering
the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Sev-
eral times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
839 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
822

Mature women, when
881 menstruating, wear black loin cloths. For the first time the
841 boy is shown the aije (bull-roarers) and the other secret
822 ceremonies forbidden to women and children. He is also spa-
796 tially leaving the women's domain; he is moving to the men's
342 house. As he was born in the jungle, moved to the village
and named, now he is passing from the periphery of the vil-
571 lage to its center. Before the initiation ceremony, the sis-
302 ters of his yorubodare pluck out all his body hair, for hair
826 is an animal characteristic. He is made to jump over a fire.
Cooking is a cultural process, and the boys in the initiation
ceremonies are made cultural by being "cooked." When the
decision for an initiation ceremony has been made, the men
say, "Let us cook the boys" (pawo ipare ekowu).

585 Marriage is an anticlimax. The alliance with the other
616 moiety has already been confirmed by the initiation ceremony;
833 sexual needs are well attended to by the female associates
in the men's house (Crocker 1969: 236-260) and by casual af-
fairs, and now one must move again to the periphery, at least
during the night. The continuity of the society must be as-
sured; but it is not a thing to brag of, to extol with cere-
monies, or to be proud of.

763 Finally death. The number and the meaning of funeral
764 ceremonies lasting a month and a half and the number of songs,
ornaments, food exchanges, and maternal lamentations would
763 require the space of another book. With death a man's pas-
616 sage from one moiety to another is completed. He himself
becomes the ancestor of the other moiety which he has im-

763 personated in ceremonies during his life. The exchange is
[619] total. He gets a new name, becomes an Aroe, and joins the
775 [553] other Aroe in Bakororo and Itubore. Dressed in colored
feathers, the Aroe are beautiful and spend their time dancing
[833] and singing. It is a world without dangerous sex and with-
[609] out enemies, without foreign tribes and Brazilians; it is a
[772] cultural place. Man comes from nature and dies into culture.

769 But this is not the end. The Aroe, too, get hungry, and
the living make meals for the spirits when they eat food in
the name of Aroe. Aroe enter their representatives and eat.
The dead are dependent on the living. And the living are de-
[825] pendent on the dead. Aroe come to the living in the forms of
fish and animals to be caught. The exchange continues.

> 769 Aroe come again and again to visit their
> 825 mother, their father, their children, their poari,
> their bow and arrow. They transform themselves
> into nabure, kuido, kudoro [varieties of macaws]
> kurugugwa [a variety of hawk], aroe echeba [harpy
> eagle], and come again and again. They transform
> themselves into fish, into tubore [a variety of
> small fish]. The same fish, the same animals that
> [264] we eat. Thus we are eating each other.[1]

772 Culture and nature occupy the same space. Older and
[593] younger brothers, though opposed, are still one; mother and
child never really become totally separated—separation is
a continuous process. Fission and fusion are complementary

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[1] "Aroeeture mato tuje, tuwo, tonaregedu tuguye poari, tudugo, tuwoiga bogai mato pugeje t t t je. Du wure nabure, kuido, kudoro, kurugugwa, aroe echeba udo pudumi, tugiyarigodu keje t t t je ji-je rugada tuyamedu tabo. Ere kare edo pudumi, are tubore edo pudumi. Duwu karo, barogo jire pagwagere oino. Kodire puire pagwagere oino."

777 in the game of life. The Bororo started as a mixture. Their
773 father was a man, their mother was a doe.[1] They try to pluck
828 all the hair they got from from their mother; they try to be-
302 come more human, to become spirits, but it is a vein effort.
The living and the dead, nature and culture can never be
separated.

178 Or can they? At some time in the 1930's, if the story
769 is correct, the Bororo became painfully aware that they were
dying out. Not just a few individuals, but everybody, the
entire society was coming to an end. They realized that
they were all going to die and nobody would be left to feed
them and to care for them when all of them had become Aroe.
There was no way to cope with this problem; the final solu-
tion was not built into the structure. An outside interven-
787 tion was needed to solve the problem. The last great Bororo
chief from Kejari had a dream about a new and different place
for Aroe: Uwororo puwaewu Aroe--the place where Aroe take
care of Aroe. The umbilical cord with earth has been finally
163 cut completely. In death the Bororo will become pure culture.

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[1] According to a myth, only one man remained alive after the Flood. He mated with a doe and started anew the Bororo society. To stress the fact that the mating occurred between a cultural being (male) and a natural being (female), the Bororo say that Bope transformed himself into a doe (Bope ure pobogo aredu pudumi).

APPENDIX

TEST OF THE RULES

(REDUCTION OF KIN TYPES TO CLASS FOCI)

128 *601 In this chapter all of the kin types listed in Chapter II are reduced to their class foci. As the rules are not ordered any applicable equivalence rule is repeatedly applied until a focal type is reached. For sake of brevity I will label the equivalence rules as follows:

1. the skewing rule;
2. the merging rule;
3. the female parallel collateral rule;
4. the half-sibling rule;
5. the step rule;
6. the naming rule;
7. the marriage rule;
8. the neutralization rule.

*601

1. Iyedaga

FF: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ Iyedaga (by definition).
MF: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ Iyedaga (by definition).
FFB: → FF (by the merging rule);
∴ Iyedaga (by definition).

*60| MFB: → MF (by the merging rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).
MMH: → MF (by the step rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).
FSH: → FMH (by the skewing rule),
→ FF (by the step rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).
WF: → FFSs (by the marriage rule),
→ FFMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FFB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FF (by the merging rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).
WS^{+}H: → WMH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WF (by the step rule),
→ FFSs (by the marriage rule),
→ FFMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FFB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FF (by the merging rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).
HF: → FFSs (by the marriage rule),
→ FFMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FFB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FF (by the merging rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).
HB → *iyedaga* (by the neutralization rule).

*601 HMB: → HMs (by the skewing rule),
→ HB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ *iyedaga* (by the neutralization rule).
HSs: → HMs (by the skewing rule),
→ HB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ *iyedaga* (by the neutralization rule).
HMSs: → HMds (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ HMs (by the skewing rule),
→ HB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ *iyedaga* (by the neutralization rule).
HMB (alternatively):
→ FF (by the naming rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).
HB (alternatively):
→ FFSs (by the naming rule),
→ FFMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FFB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FF (by the merging rule);
∴ *iyedaga* (by definition).

2. *Imarugo*

FM: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ *imarugo* (by definition).
MM: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ *imarugo* (by definition).

*601 FMS: → FMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

MFS: → MFM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

FFS: → FFM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

FS: → FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

FSd: → FMd (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

FSdd: → FMdd (by the skewing rule),
→ FSd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FMd (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

WM: → FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

#601 WMS: → WMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

WS* → WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

WSd, where WSd is older than W:
→ WMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

*601 WMSd, where WMSd is older than W:

→ WMdd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WSd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ WMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ WM (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

HM: → FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

HMS: → HMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ HS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ HM (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ imarugo (by definition).

*601 HMSd: → HMdd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ HSd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ HMd (by the skewing rule),
→ HS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ HM (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ *imarugo* (by definition).

HS: → HM (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ *imarugo* (by definition).

HSd: → HMd (by the skewing rule),
→ HS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ HM (by the skewing rule),
→ FS (by the marriage rule),
→ FM (by the skewing rule);
∴ *imarugo* (by definition).

3. *iyogwa*

F: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ *iyogwa* (by definition).

FB: → F (by the merging rule);
∴ *iyogwa* (by definition).

*601 FMB: → FMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ F (by the merging rule);
∴ iyogwa (by definition).

FSs: → FMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ F (by the merging rule);
∴ iyogwa (by definition).

FSds: → FMds (by the skewing rule),
→ FSs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ FMs (by the skewing rule),
→ FB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ F (by the merging rule);
∴ iyogwa (by definition).

MH (alternatively):
→ F (by the step rule);
∴ iyogwa (by definition).

4. inodowu

MH (alternatively):
invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ inodowu (by definition).

MSH: → MdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ SH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ MH (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego);

*601 ∴ inodowu (by definition).

♂ SH: → ♂ MH (by the skewing rule);
∴ inodowu (by definition).

♂ MSdH: → ♂ MMdH (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ MSH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ MdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♂ SH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ MH (by the skewing rule);
∴ inodowu (by definition).

♂ SdH → ♂ MdH (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ SH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ MH (by the skewing rule);
∴ inodowu (by definition).

♀S^{+}H: → ♀MH (by the female parallel collateral rule);
∴ inodowu (by definition).

♀MSdH, where MSd is older than Ego:
→ ♀MddH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀SdH (by the half-sibling rule)
→ ♀MdH by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀SH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀MH (by the parallel collateral rule);
∴ inodowu (by definition).

*601

5. imuga

M: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ imuga (by definition).

6. imana 7. ivuri 9. iviye (imedu)

B: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

MB: → Ms (by the skewing rule)
→ B (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition

MMD: → MMs (by the skewing rule),
→ MB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Ms (by the skewing rule),
→ B (by the half sibling rule);
∴ imana, ivuri (by definition).

FBs: → Fs (by the merging rule)
→ B (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition)

MSs: → Mds (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ Ss (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Ms (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego.),
→ B (by the half-sibling rule),
∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

*601 Ss: → Ms (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ B (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

Sds: → Mds (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ Ss (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Ms (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ B (by the half-sibling rule)
∴ iviye (by definition)

Fs: → B (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

Ms: → B (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ imana, ivuri, iviye (by definition).

8. ituye and 9. iviye (aredu)

A: invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

MS: → Md (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

*601 MMS: → MMd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ MS (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Md (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ *ituye* (by definition).

MSd: → Mdd (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ Sd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Md (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego, by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ *ituye*, *iviye* (by definition).

FBd: → Fd (by the merging rule),
→ S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ *ituye*, *iviye* (by definition).

Sd: → Md (by the skewing rule for o Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ *ituye*, *iviye* (by definition).

*601 Sdd: → Mdd (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ Sd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Md (by the skewing rule for ♂ Ego; by the female parallel collateral rule for ♀Ego),
→ S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ iviye (by definition).
Fd: → S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).
Md: → S (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ ituye, iviye (by definition).

10. itonaregedu

s: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).
d: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).
♂ Bs: → ♂s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).
♂ Bd: → ♂ d (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).
♂ MBs: → ♂ Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

*601 ♂MBd: → ♂Msd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂d (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂MMBs: → ♂MMss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂MBs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂MMBd: → ♂MMsd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂MBd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂Msd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂d (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

♂Sss: → ♂Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂s (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

*601 ♂Ssd: → ♂Msd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂Bd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂d (by the merging rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

Ws: → s (by the step rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

Wd: → d (by the step rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

WB: → Ws (by the skewing rule),
→ s (by the step rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

WMB: → WMs (by the skewing rule),
→ WB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Ws (by the skewing rule),
→ s (by the step rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

WMSs: → WMds (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WSs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ WMs (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ WB (by the half-sibling rule),
→ Ws (by the skewing rule),
→ s (by the step rule);
∴ itonaregedu (by definition).

*601 WMSd, where WMSd is younger than W:

	→	WMdd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	WSd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	WMd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	WS	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	Wd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	d	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
WS$^-$:	→	Wd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	d	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
WSs:	→	WMs	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	WB	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	Ws	(by the skewing rule),
	→	s	(by the step rule);
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).
WSd:	→	WMd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	WS	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	Wd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	d	(by the step rule)
	∴	itonaregedu	(by definition).

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11. *ivagedu*

ss: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).

ds: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).

Bss: → ♂ss (by the merging rule);
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).
→ ♀sss (by the skewing rule);
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).

Bds: → ♂ds (by the merging rule);
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).
→ ♀sds (by the skewing rule);
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).

♀Bs: → ♀ss (by the skewing rule),
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).

♀MBs: → ♀Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).

♀MMBs: → ♀MMss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀MBs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀Mss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ *ivagedu* (by definition).

*601 ♀Sss: → ♀Mss (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♂ dH: → ♂ MBss (by the marriage rule),
→ ♂ Msss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bss (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ ss (by the merging rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♀dH: → ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♀S^-H: → ♀sH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♀MSH, where MS is younger than Ego:
→ ♀MdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀SH (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀dH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀Bs (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀ss (by the skewing rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

*601 ♀MSdH, where MSd is younger than Ego:

	→	♀MddH	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀SdH	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀MdH	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀SH	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀dH	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀Bs	(by the marriage rule),
	→	♀ss	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	ivagedu	(by definition).
♀Sd:	→	♀MdH	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀SH	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀dH	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀Bs	(by the marriage rule),
	→	♀ss	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	ivagedu	(by definition).
WBs:	→	Wss	(by the skewing rule),
	→	ss	(by the step rule);
	∴	ivagedu	(by definition).

*601 $WS^{-}H$: → WdH (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♂ dH (by the step rule),
→ ♂ MBss (by the marriage rule),
→ ♂ Msss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bss (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ ss (by the merging rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

Wds: → ds (by the step rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♂ Ss (alternatively):
→ ♂ MBss (by the naming rule),
→ ♂ Msss (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bss (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ ss (by the merging rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

♂ Sds (alternatively):
→ ♂ ss (by the naming rule);
∴ ivagedu (by definition).

12. irago

sd: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ irago (by definition).

dd: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ irago (by definition).

*601 Bsd:	→	♂sd	(by the merging rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
	→	♀ssd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
Bdd:	→	♂dd	(by the merging rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
	→	♀sdd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀Bd:	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀MBd:	→	♀Msd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀Bd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀MMBd:	→	♀MMsd	(by the skewing rule),
	→	♀MBd	(by the half-sibling rule).
	→	♀Msd	(by the skewing rule).
	→	♀Bd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).
♀Ssd:	→	♀Msd	(by the female parallel collateral rule),
	→	♀Bd	(by the half-sibling rule),
	→	♀sd	(by the skewing rule);
	∴	irago	(by definition).

*601 ♂ sW: → ♂ MBsd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♂ Mssd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bsd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ sd (by the merging rule);
∴ *irago* (by definition).
♀sW: → ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule);
∴ *irago* (by definition).
♂ BW: → *irago* (by the neutralization rule).
♀BW: → ♀sW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule),
∴ *irago* (by definition).
♂ MBW: → ♂ MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ BW (by the half-sibling rule);
→ *irago* (by the neutralization rule).
♀MBW: → ♀MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀BW (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀sW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule);
∴ *irago* (by definition).
♂ SsW: → ♂ MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ BW (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ *irago* (by the neutralization rule).

*601 ♀SsW: → ♀MsW (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀BW (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀sW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule);
∴ *irago* (by definition).

♂ MSsW: → ♂ MMsW (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♂ MBW (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ BW (by the half-sibling rule);
∴ *irago* (by the neutralization rule).

♀MSsW: → ♀MMsW (by the female parallel collateral rule),
→ ♀MBW (by the half sibling rule),
→ ♀MsW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀BW (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♀sW (by the skewing rule),
→ ♀Bd (by the marriage rule),
→ ♀sd (by the skewing rule);
∴ *irago* (by definition).

WBd: → Wsd (by the skewing rule),
→ sd (by the step rule);
∴ *irago* (by definition).

*601 Wdd: → dd (by the step rule);
∴ irago (by definition).

♂ Sd (alternatively):
→ ♂ MBsd (by the naming rule),
→ ♂ Mssd (by the skewing rule),
→ ♂ Bsd (by the half-sibling rule),
→ ♂ sd (by the merging rule);
∴ irago (by definition).

♂ Sdd → ♂ sd (by the naming rule);
∴ irago (by definition).

13. Itoredu

H: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ Itoredu (by definition).

14. Itoreduje

W: Invariant to the reduction rules;
∴ Itoreduje (by definition).

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